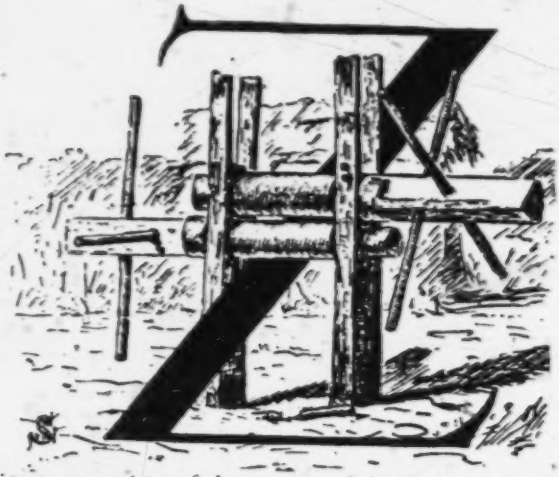
/100/

Eighth Chapter

The First Bakaïrí Village. -- March to the Paranatinga. -- The Second Bakaïrí Village.



In the report of José Gonçalves da Fonseca about a trip from Pará to the source region of the Madeira in the year 1749, I find, for the first time, mention of the name of the Bakaïrí, who consequently must have been known already to the first generation of Mata Grosso discoverers. In discussing the probable origin of the Schingú /Xingu/, he says that the rivers lying between the sources of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/ and the Tocantins, called "Bacaris" and "das Mortes," may undoubtedly be regarded as the source rivers of the Schingú. -- In the atlas of Thomas Jeffery of the year 1776, the "Bacahyris" on the Paranatinga are recorded.

Ayras de Cazal notes about our tribe in 1817: "The Baccahirys, who inhabit the regions adjacent to the Rio das Mortes, wage an incessant war against all kinds of quadrupeds and birds. Up to the present time this people has not shown any hostility

[This drawing illustrates a Sugar Cane Press— C.f. P. 22 -- Analyst]

/100 cont./

101 to the Christians. It is said that they are white and friendly: one reason why they are regarded as a horde of the Paricys."

Martius has them living at the southernmost sources of the Schingú and also lists them at the sources of the Arinos and Juruena. He also classifies /101/ them under the Parecí /Paressi/ who are scattered across the watershed between Tapajoz, Madeira, and Paraguay.

Now it turns out that placing the Parecí and the Bakaïrí together in this way was erroneous. The well-known closest relatives of the Bakaïrí, as I wish to point out briefly in advance, are settled north of the Amazon River, and a tribe somewhat more distantly related to them, but belonging to the same group, lives in the source region of the Madeira. I myself was familiar only with the note of Martius, and on the journey I had no idea how interesting this little tribe was

Bakaïrí village.

and how many hours I would later spend pondering over its past.

It was a very fortunate circumstance that Reginaldo -- who was always ready to smoke a cigarette with me and warmed up more and more and gradually became highly amused by my notations -- had an amazing gift of quick perception and was able to express himself clearly for practical purposes in a somewhat crude Portuguese. Such an opportunity never came again later. Reginaldo was a good person, intelligent, and held the reins of his chieftainship in strong, paternal hands.

/101 cont./

361 [101] There were two settlements of "docile" Bakaïrí: the aldeament on the Rio Novo, as this first was called, after a tributary of the Arinos, and the aldeament on the Paranatinga. The two villages are not yet old; all the adults were born father up the Paranatinga, on the "Salto" /waterfall; see the glosary, [131] p. 172 /; the Bakaïrí, however, were probably spread over this entire region in small hordes, as is shown by the fact that they were noted as far as the Rio das Mortes. In the 'twentie, when 179 648 797 the gold-seeker expedition under the leadership of P. Lopez pushed into this region, they were converted to Christianity, on which occasion, as Reginaldo related, his grandfather and many others lost their lives.

823 /102/ We eagerly inquired as to whether he knew about a river beyond the Paranatinga? Today, he replied, this region is [131] completely strange to them; he remembered from his youth, [101] however, that one was supposed to come to a large river if one went from the Paranatinga toward the rising sun, and on this river there were said to be Bakaïrí still living, the "antiguos" /the ancients/, who were not Christians.

361 The two aldeamente are under the administration of the 648 "Director dos Indios" in Cuyabá /Cuiabá/. Reginaldo is a [622] Brazilian captain, his successor as chief of the tribe, Joaquim, 361 is a lieutenant. Our seeing no women was due to the fact that they were living in an aldeament two legoas away; the huts which we occupied were used only when the farm work required it or when there were visitors. Reginaldo /illustration appears here/ completely forgot to say how sorry he was that he could greet us only as a grass widower.

[162] The village numbered six huts; the population amounted 342 to 55: 16 men, 19 women, 20 children. The soldiers were usually quartered in the big house that Reginaldo otherwise occupied with a few others: a rectangle 57 paces long and five paces wide, which was divided into a number of separate rooms by means of partitions. We occupied the guest house -- it was only 17 paces [199] long. It was modern construction, learned from the colonists. Twenty minutes away we found two deserted old-style huts,

/177 cont./

829 [101] We inquired eagerly about other tribes. It became clear that the Kustenaú and the Trumaí were to be met downstream. Waurá was a name about which we could not be certain. Was it a tribe? Or a little stream like "Tapacuya," which had given us a great deal of trouble and turned out to be the name of a nearby brook -- frequently mentioned to distinguish it from this aldea.

[101] The Kamayurá /Camayura/ lived ten days overland in the east. The principal role in all the descriptions, however, was played by the Schuyá (1), about whom the people in Aldea III

1. Suyá, pronounced Schuyá by the Bakaïrí.

had also spoken with excitement. They said they were taller -- they always pointed to me for a comparison --, very muscular, wore long hair down to their shoulders, and -- apparently lip plugs. By way of illustration, they pulled the lower lip forward forcefully with both hands, leaped about, and uttered a dreadful, intermittent roar; there was no doubt about it, the "Schuyá" were regarded with extraordinary respect among the Bakaïrí. But we! We might indeed risk it -- a young chap pointed to our guns, and all the heroes laughed and nodded to each other.

439 They showed us a number of articles that came from the Suyá: a fine headdress of orange-red and green feathers, arm bands of such feathers, a flute (simple bamboo cylinder with side hole and an opening in the top), arrows with bamboo knives. A nicely carved stool, which represented a bird, was supposed to have been obtained from the Kamayurá.

[101] A string with small perforated stone disks, one of which was larger in the center and could be interpreted as human-like, came from the Nahuquá (2) likewise living in the east.

2. Apparently the Uanaquá of the Suyá geographer.

1: Steinen
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SP7 Bacairi SP7

1	2	3
4	5	6

Chart of Positions of Map A

/Facing p. 154/

1. Steine. 1924 3, 1-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Sacair. SP7

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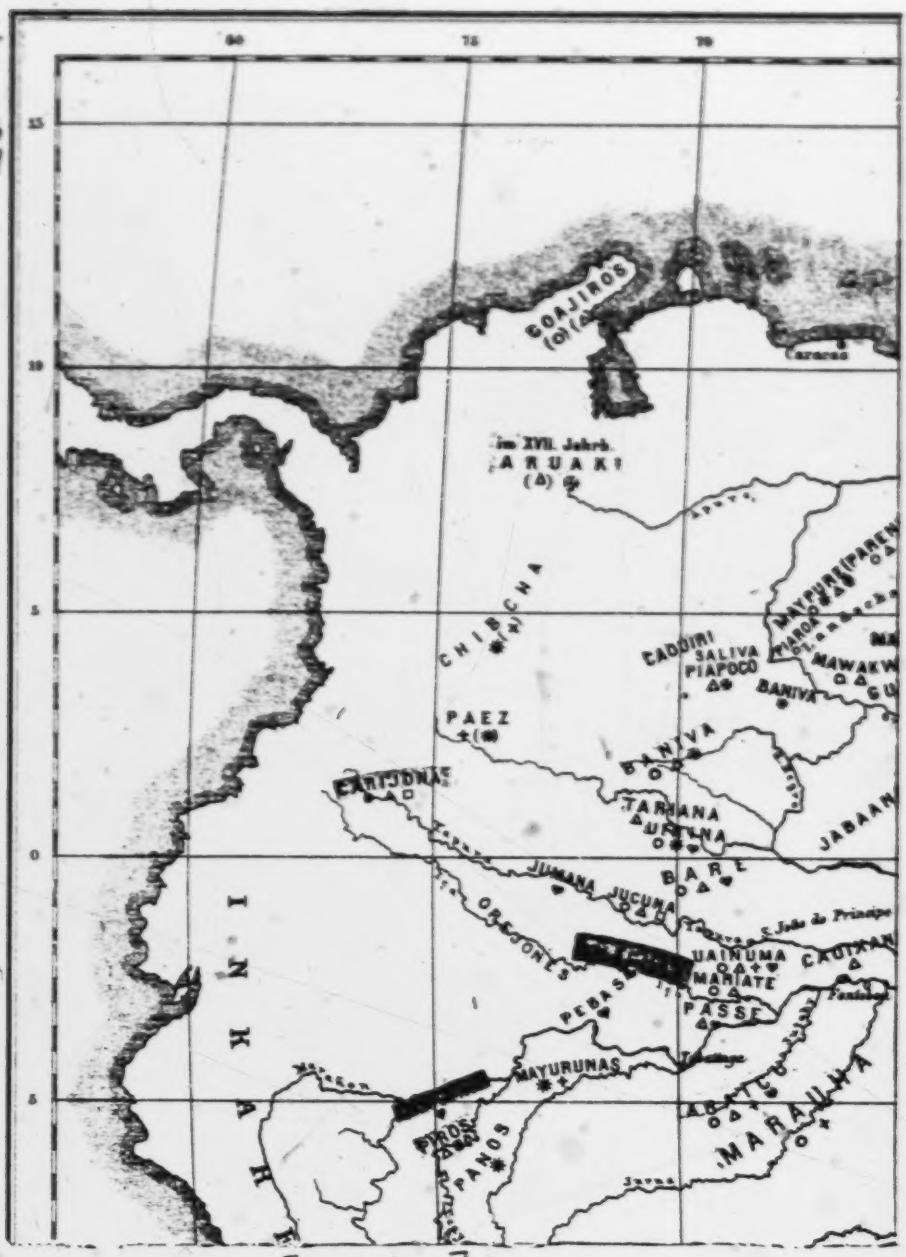

[Map A-1]

1: Steinen--155 ☽, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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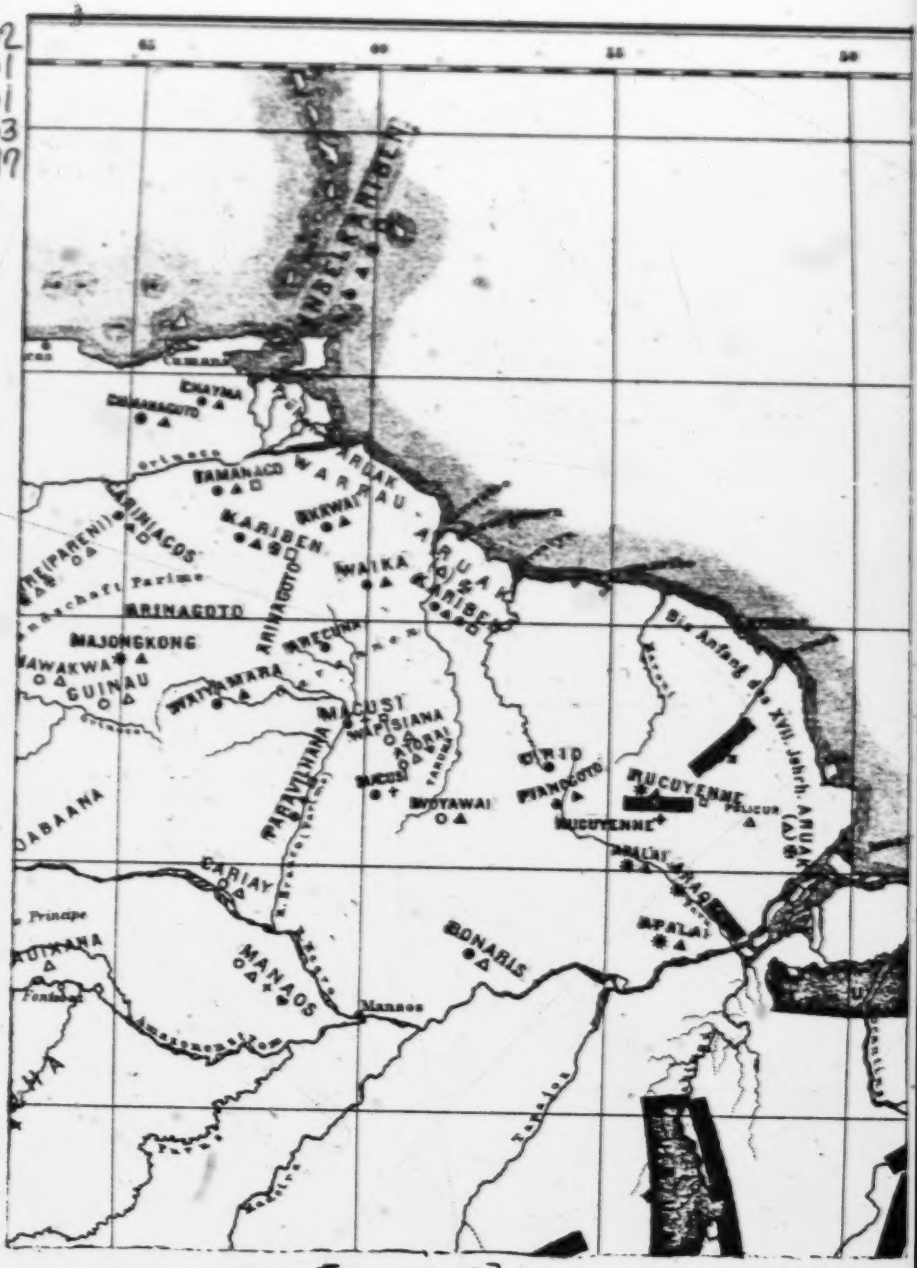
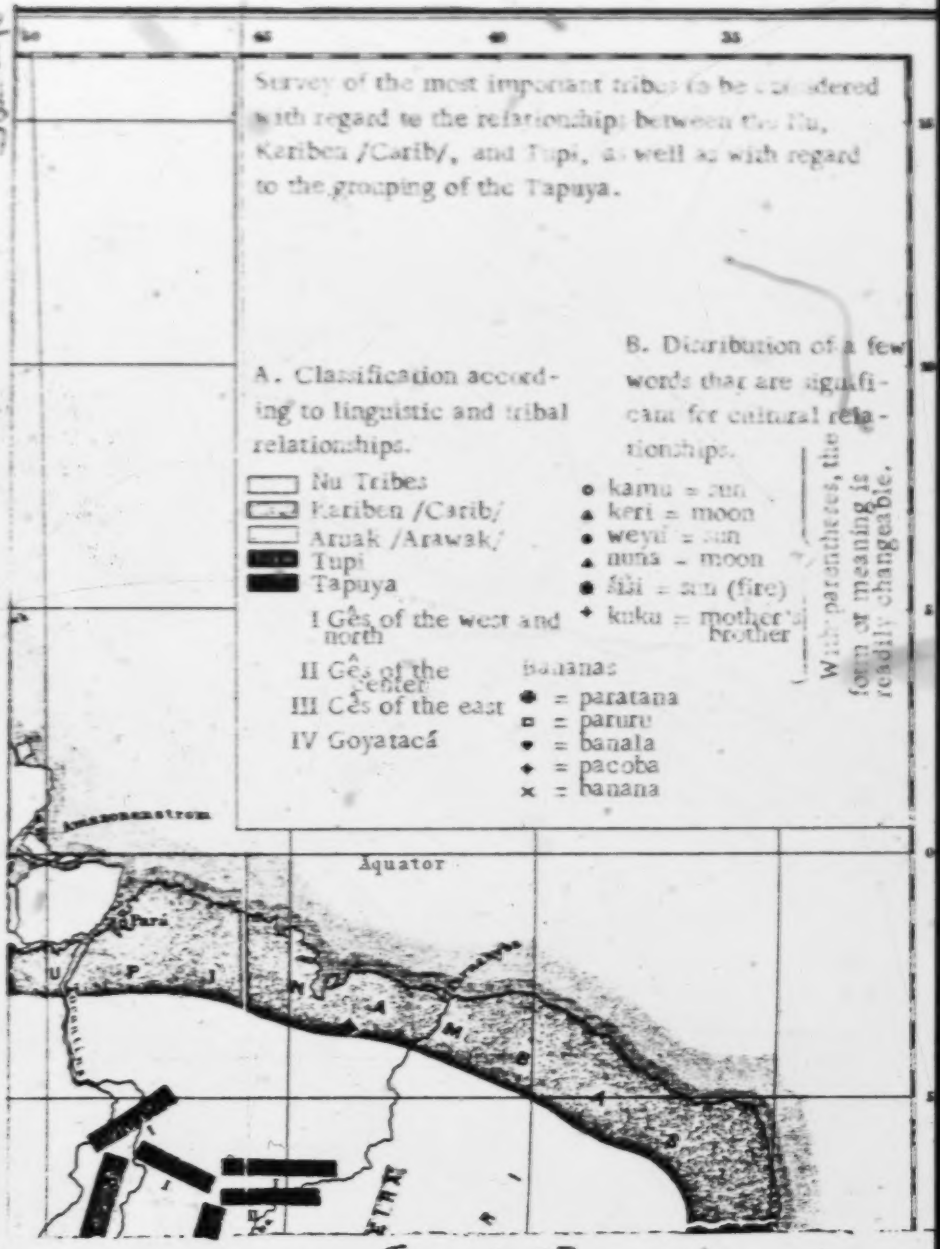


[Map A-2]

1: Stetten--15e D/1-5 (188s) 1886 MF negat. SP7


Survey of the most important tribes to be considered with regard to the relationships between the Nu, Kariben /Carib/, and Tupi, as well as with regard to the grouping of the Tapuya.
A. Classification according to linguistic and tribal relationships.
Nu Tribes
Kariben /Carib/
Aruak /Arawak/
Tupi
Tapuya
I Gês of the west and north
II Gês of the center
III Gês of the east
IV Goyatacá
B. Dicribution of a few words that are significant for cultural relationships.
kamu = sun
keri = moon
weyl = sun
nuña = moon
šiši = sun (fire)
kuku = mother's brother
With parentheses, the form or meaning is readily changeable.
bananas
= paratana
= paruru
= banala
= pacoba
= banana
Amazonenstrom
Aquator
R. Pará

[Map A-3]

1 Steinen--157 D,5-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Backup SP7

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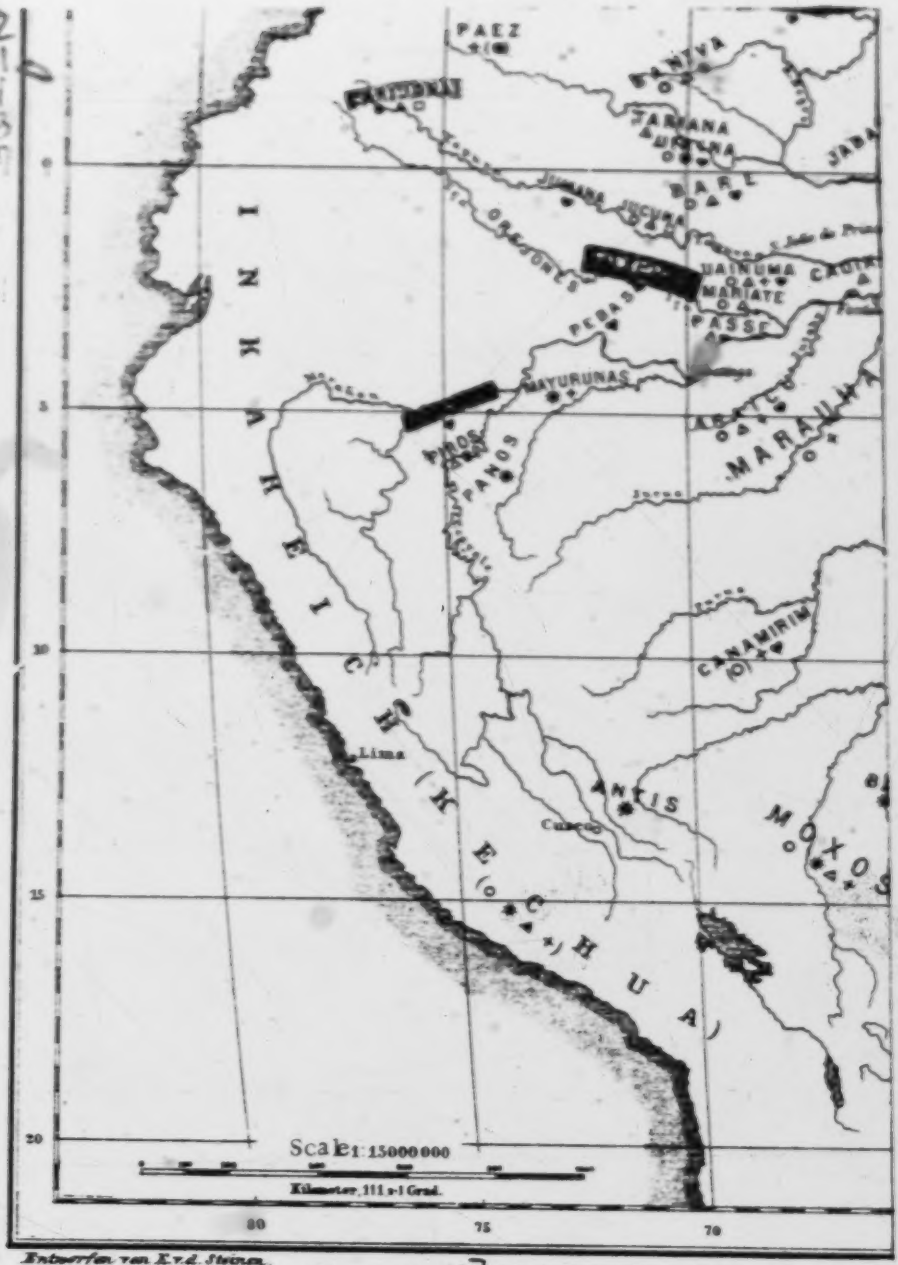

Entworfen von K. v. d. Steinen.

[Map A-4]

I: Steinen--158 D.C-5 (1884) 1886 SP? Bacia SP7

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[Map A-5]

1. Steinen--159 D E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacia SP7

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[Map A-6]

1: Steinen

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SP7 Bacairi SP7

A	B	C	D	E	F
G	H	I	J	K	L

Chart of Positions of End Map /Facing p. 173/

1: Steinen--173), E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP)

Special map of the Schingú River. From the records and position-findings of Dr. O. Clauss. reduced to the scale of 1:500,000.

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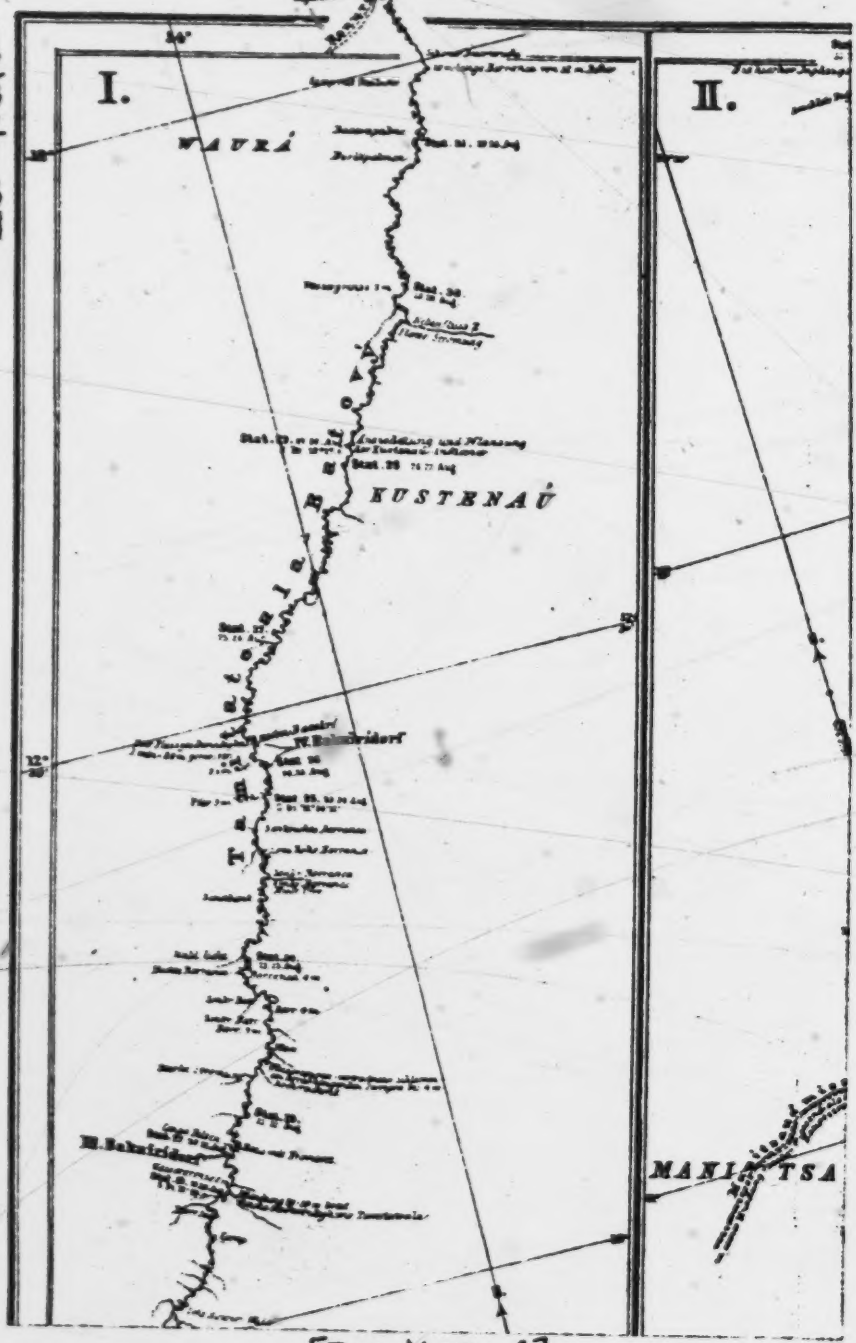

[End Map; A]

1: Steinen - 174 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacaïri SP7

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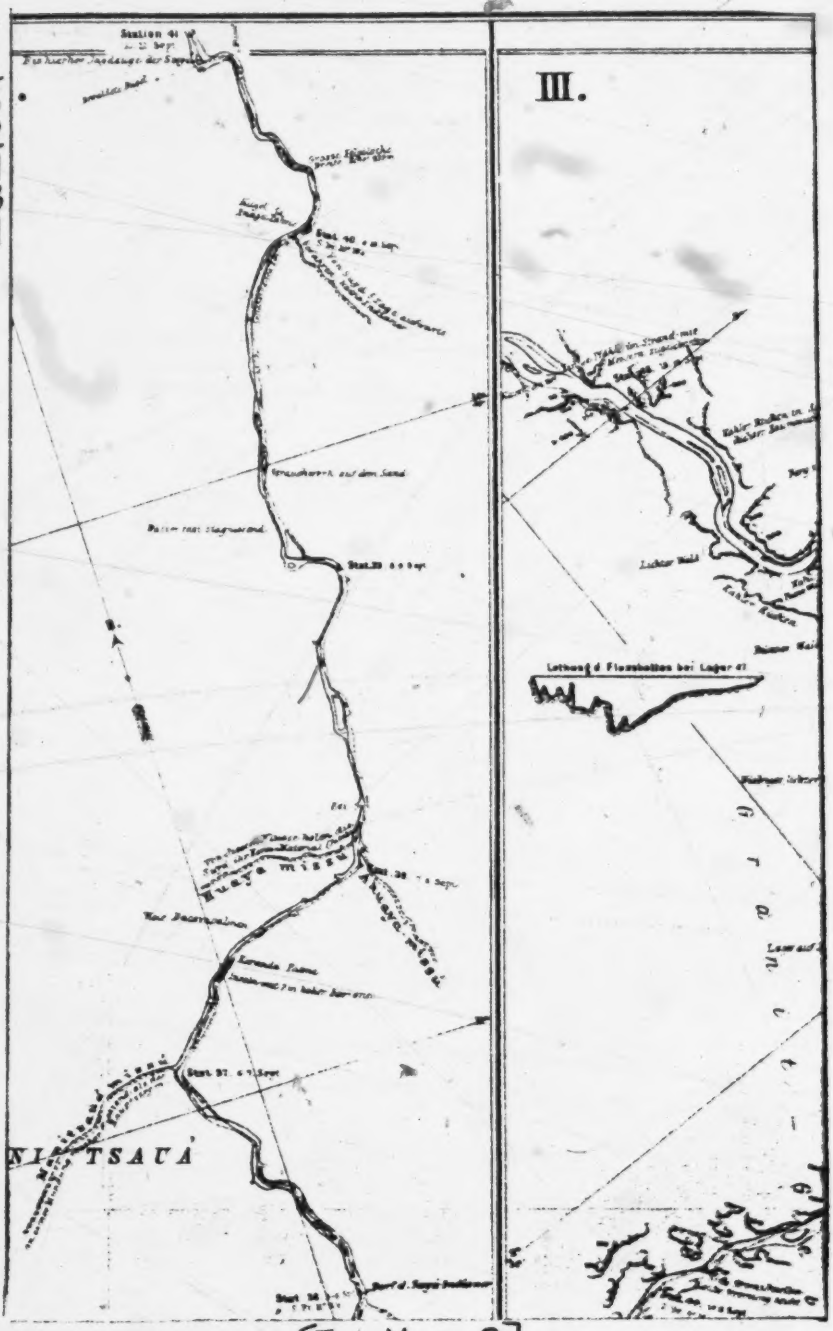

[End Map, B]

1: Steinen--175), E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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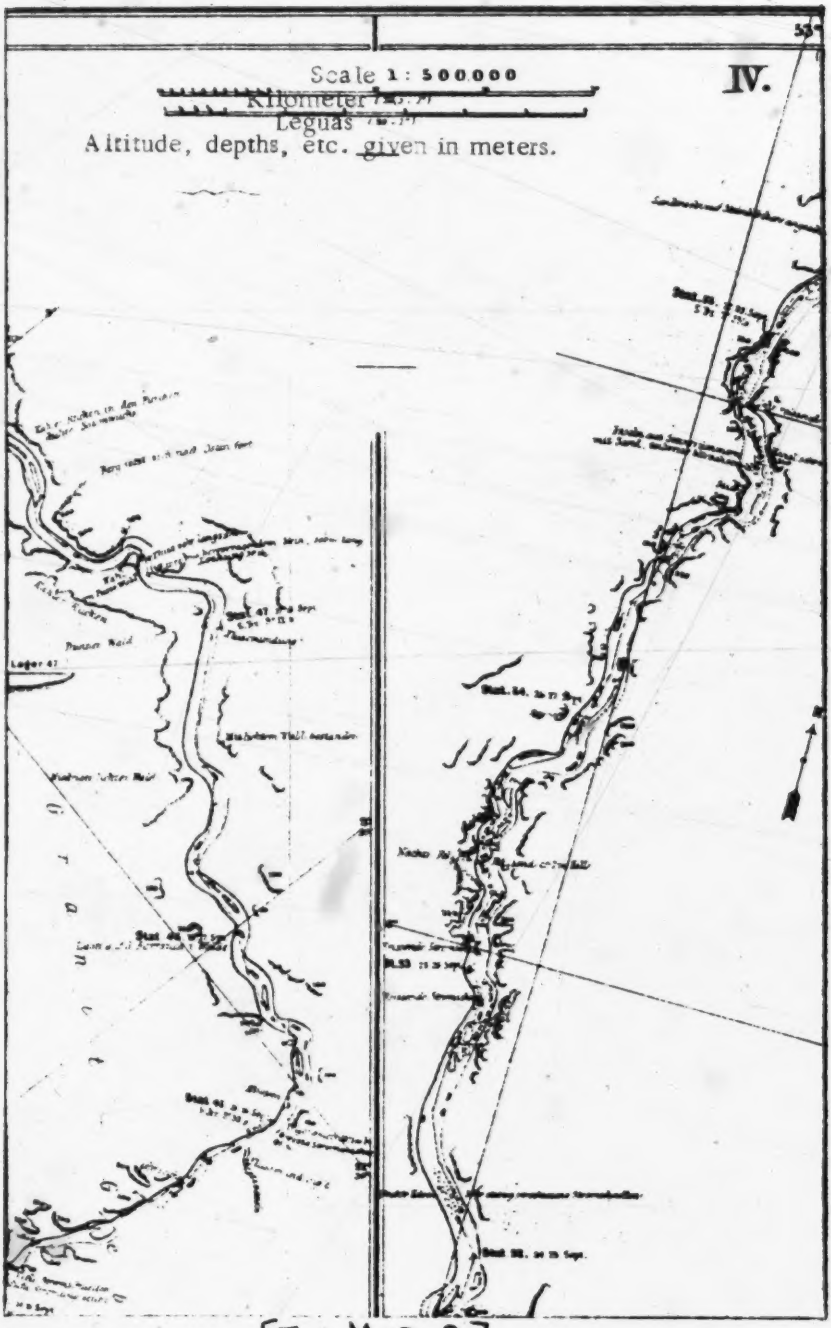

[End Map, C]

1: Steinen--176 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Explanation:

● 101
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route of the v. d. Steinen Expedition 1884.

Δ Stat. 34 Stopping places on it, with dates 4, 5 Oct.

In the case of stations determined by astronomical calculations, the latitude that was ascertained is added.

camp = treeless land overgrown with tall grass

= forest

o Seringeiro = Brazilian caoutchouc gatherer

cataracts and rapids

rocks, partly covered with plant growth.
Barranca = steep, sandy shore

sand banks

[Legend Appearing Below scale on End Map, C]

1 Steinen--177 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacain SP7

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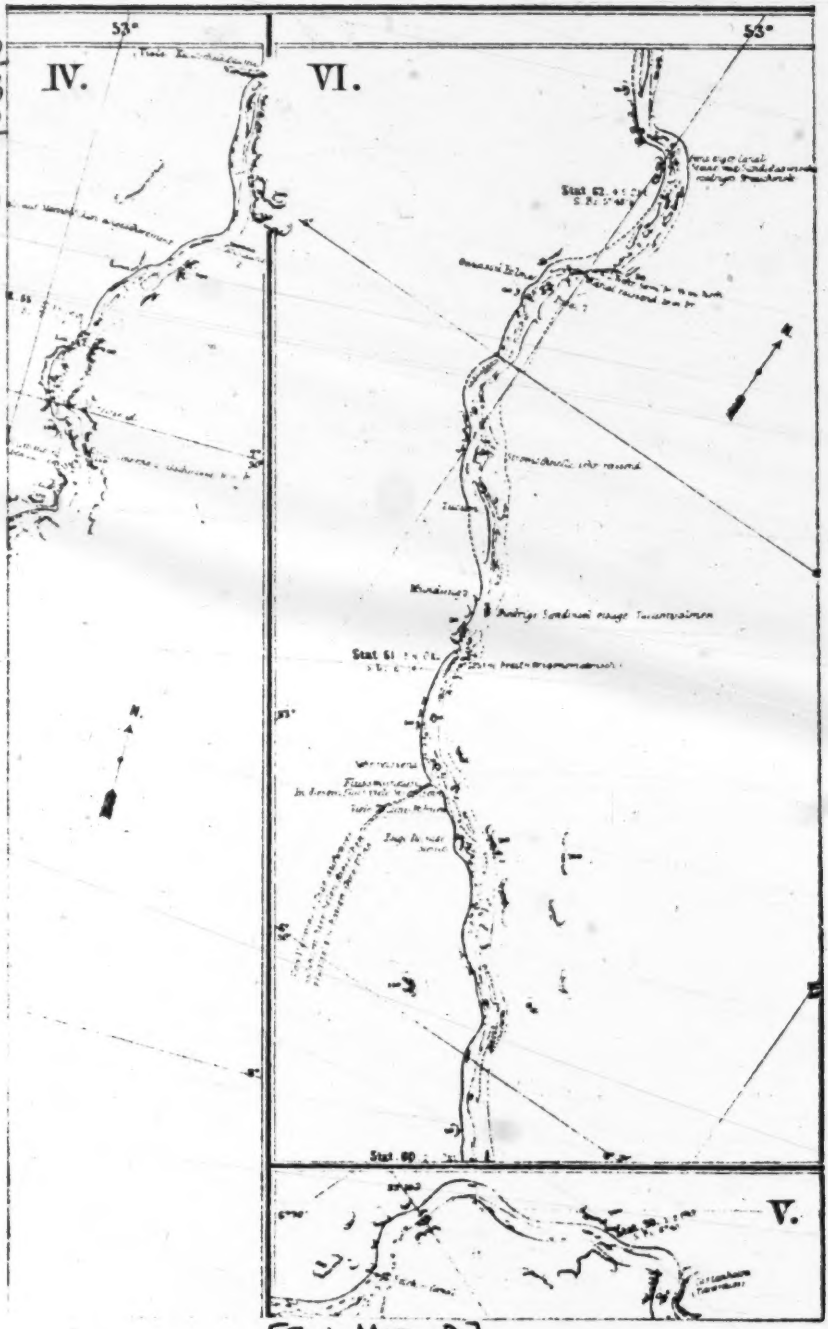

[End Map, D]

1: Steinen-178 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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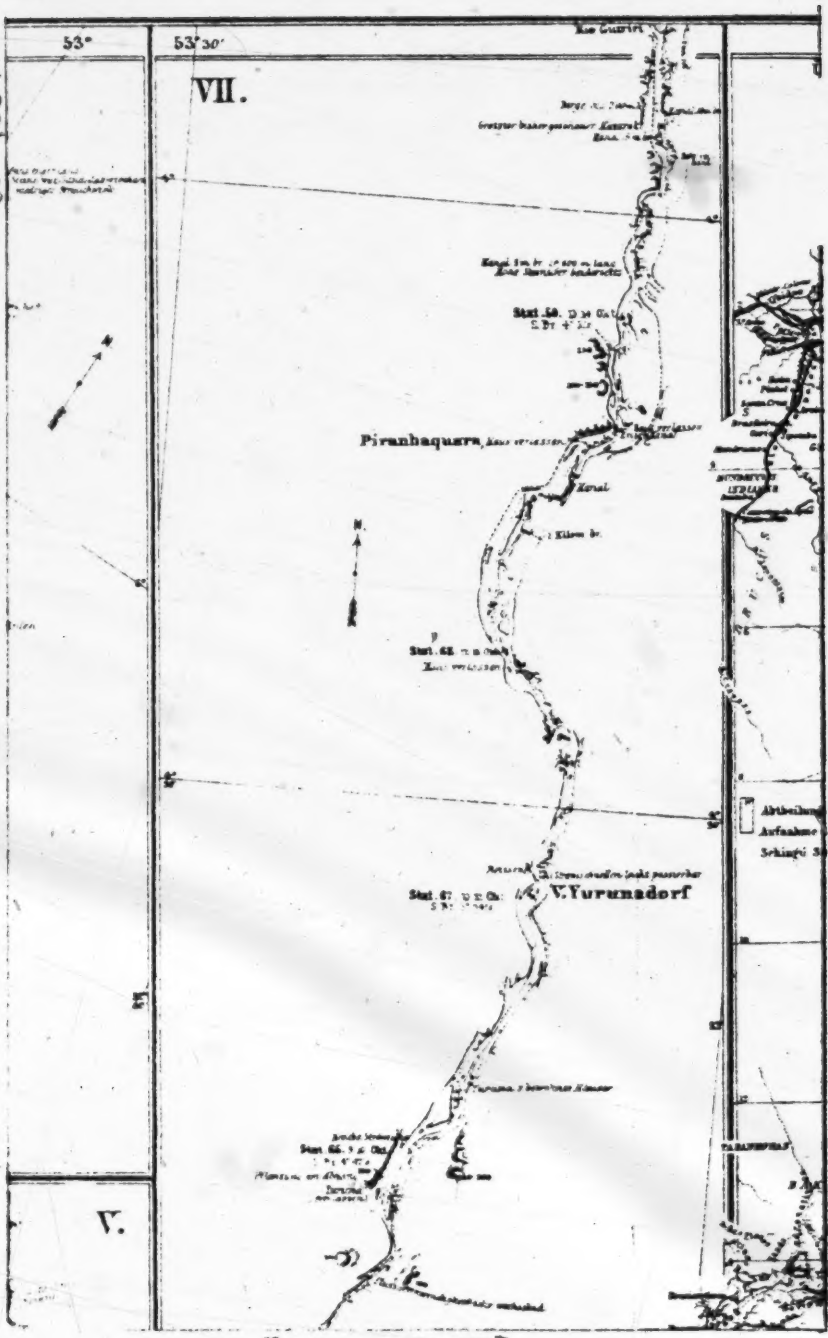

[END MAP, E].

1: Steinen--179 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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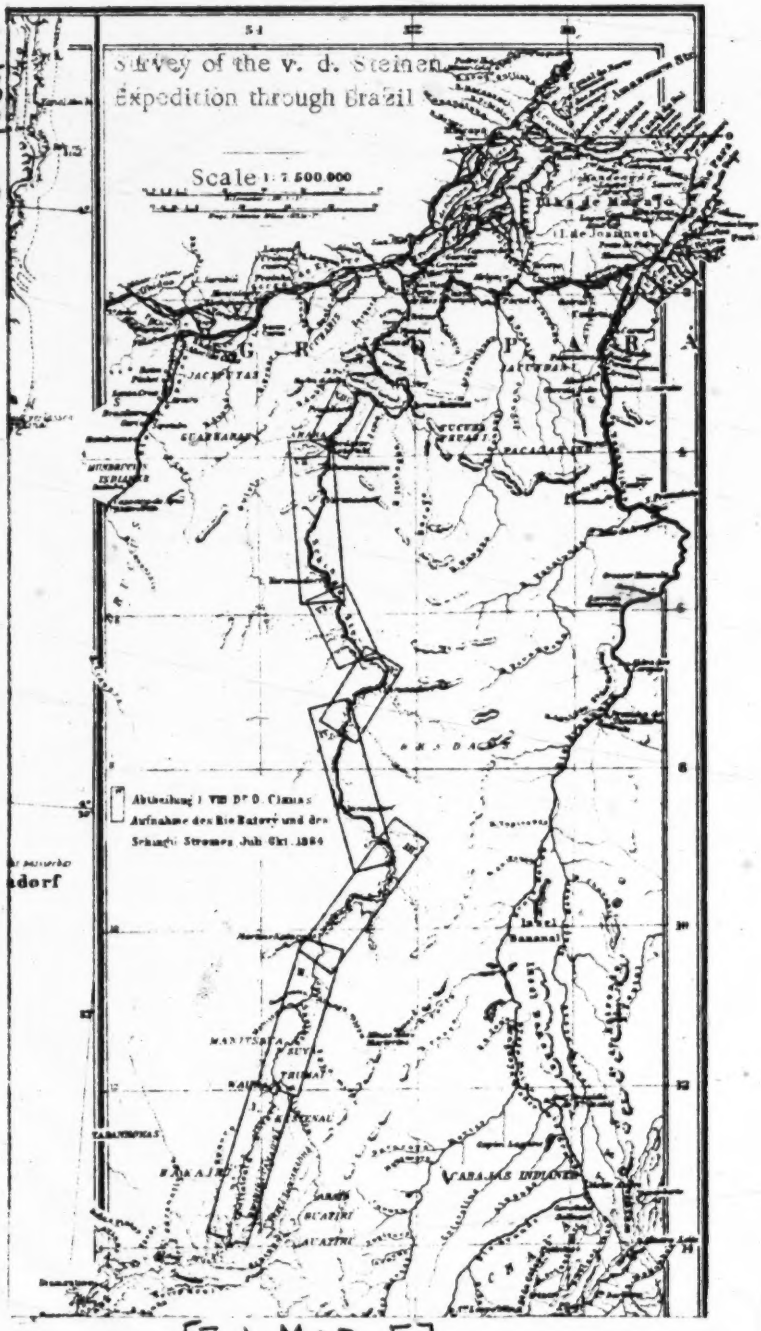
Survey of the v. d. Steinen
Expedition through Brazil
Scale 1:7 500 000
Abtheilung I VIII D^r O. Clauss
Aufnahme des Rio Batovy und des
Schingú-Stromes Juli Okt. 1884
Bacairi

[End Map, F]

1: Steinen - 180 D, 1-3 (1884) 1886 - SP7 Bacairi SP7

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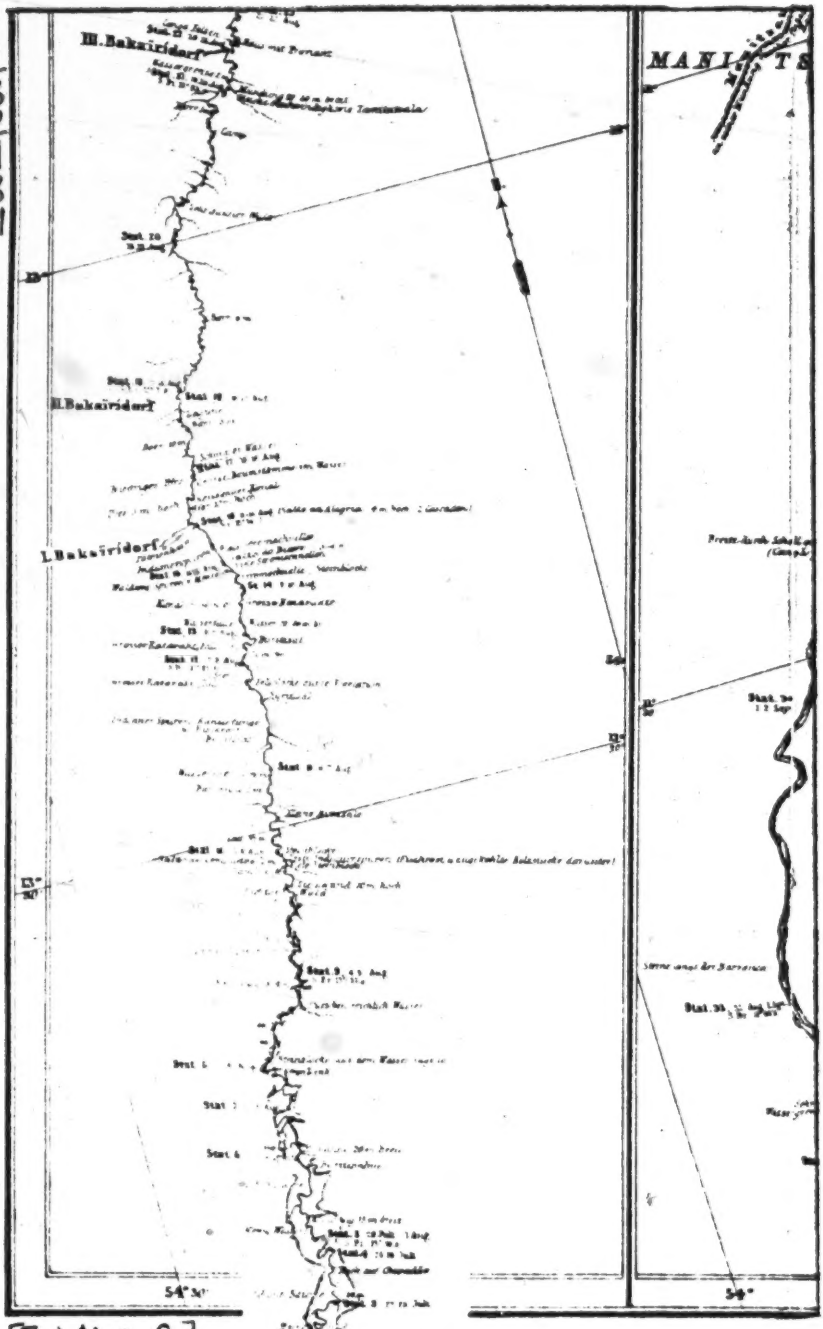

[End Map, G]

1: Steinen--181 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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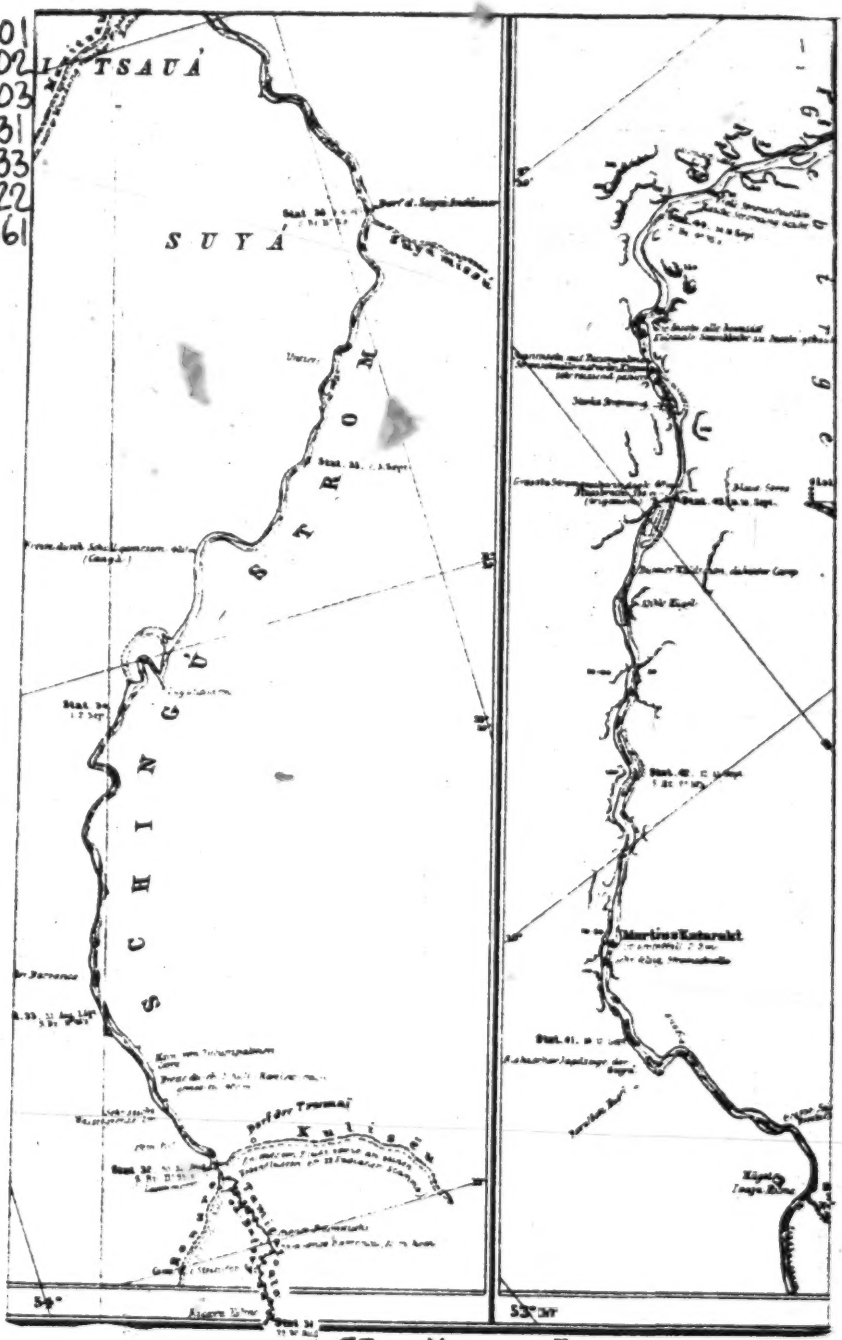

[End Map, H]

1: Steinen--182 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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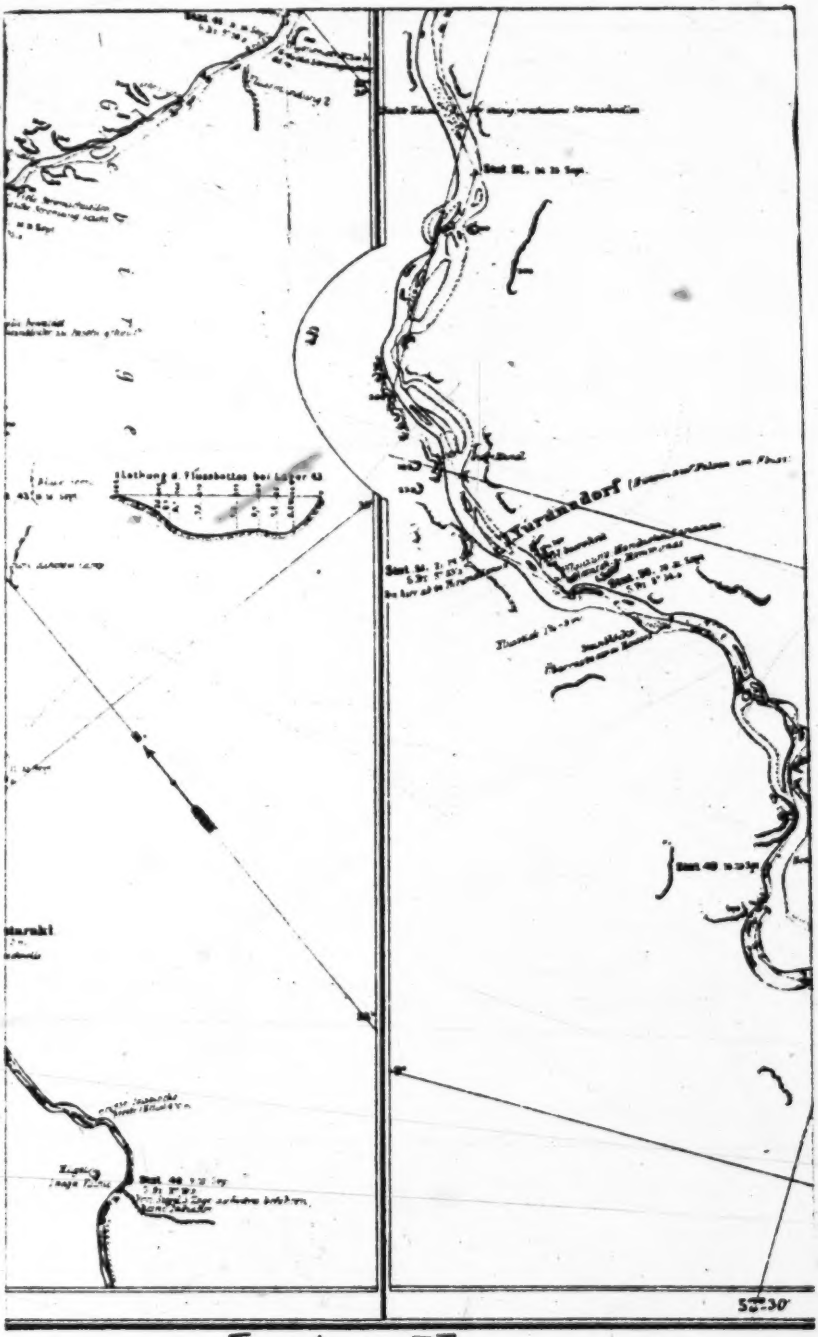

[End Map, I]

1: Steinen--183) E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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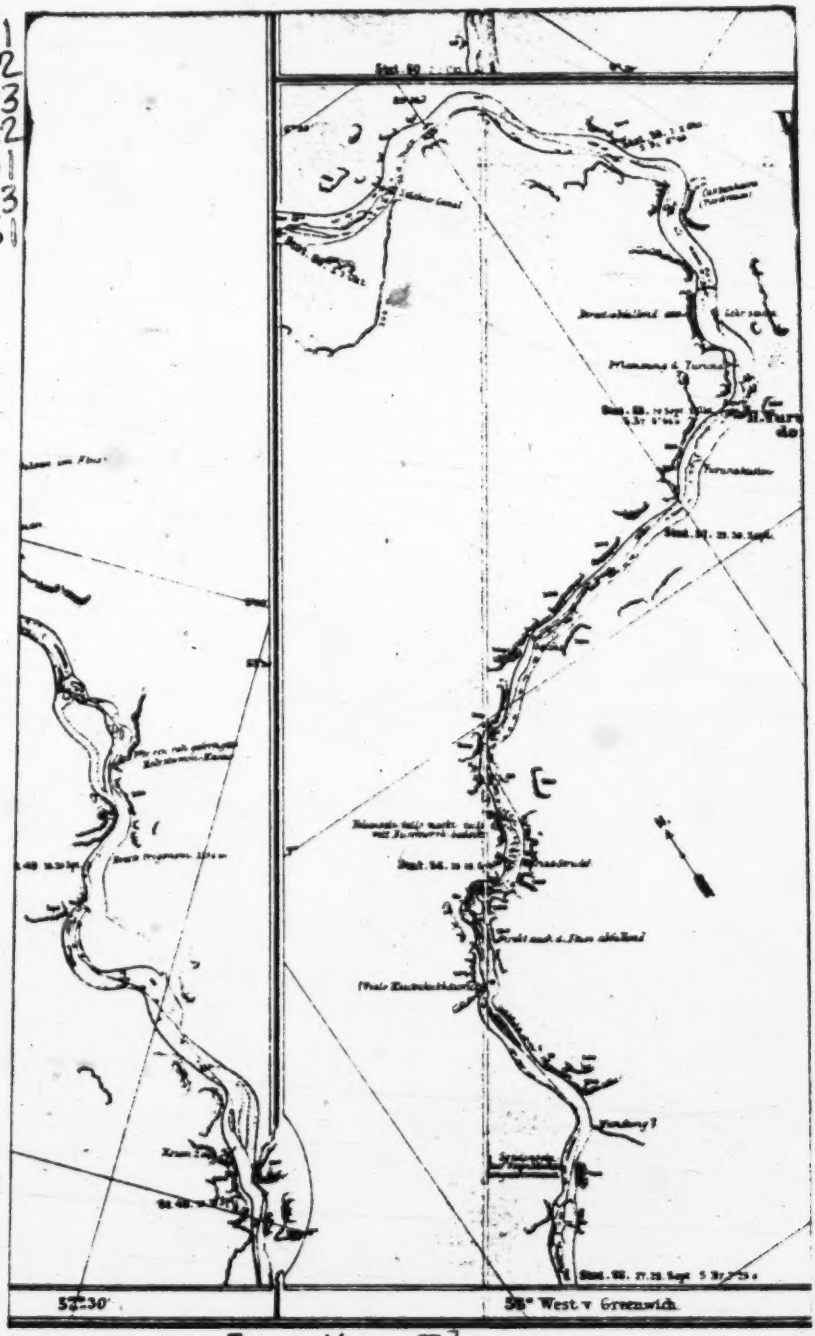

[End Map, J]

1: Steinen--184 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Pacaíri SP7

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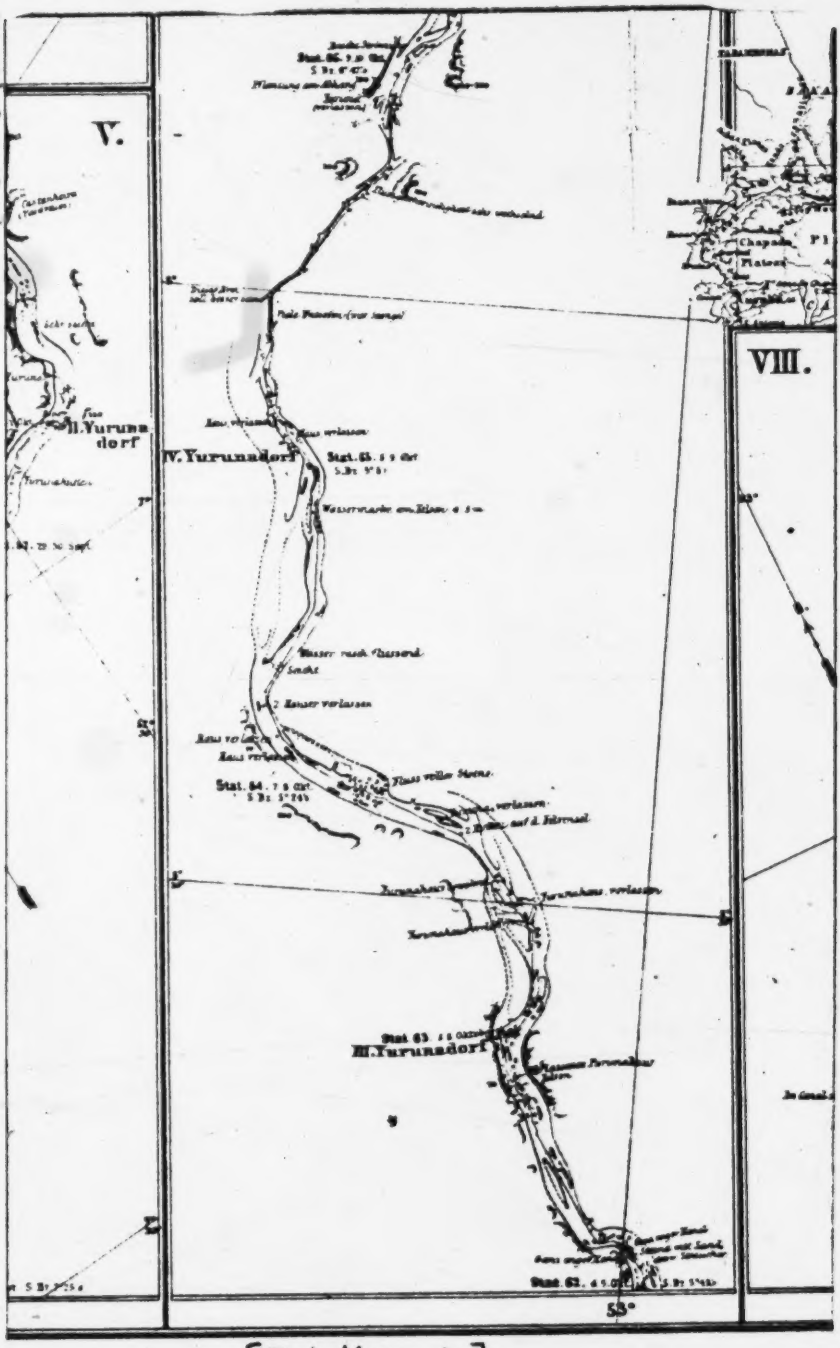

[End Map, K]

1: Steinen--185 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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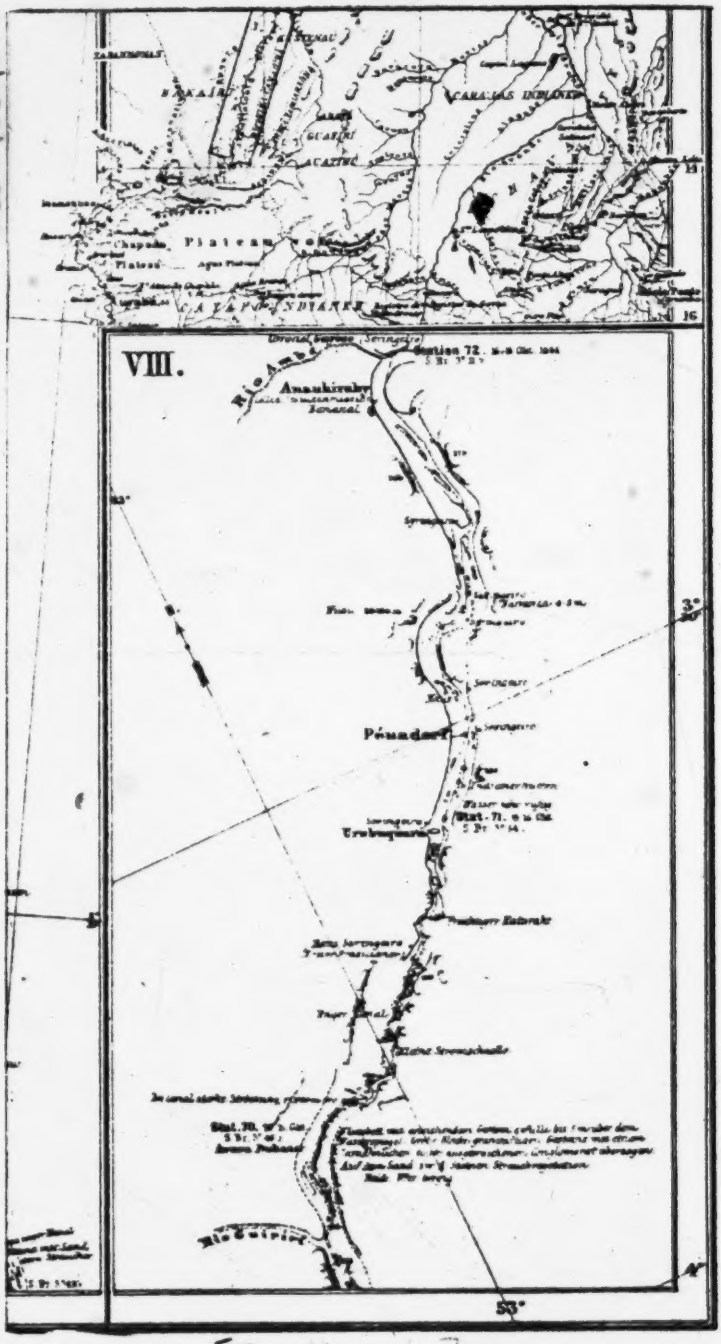

[End MAP, L]

2: Steinen
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SP7 Bacairi SP7

/For a map showing place names, location of settlements, physical relationships of the various tribes discussed in the text, and topographical features of the area covered by the second von den Steinen expedition, see category 116, pp. 664-684./

/53 cont./

123 was assured. Tumayaua, as I now learned from Antonio, had
[609] been no little disconcerted by my call; he had answered that he was a Bakaïrí, but that we were not Bakaïrí. Obligingly, the good man offered us his canoe, he himself climbed into ours, and took charge of guiding us. But we chatted no less busily
• 101 than we rowed. The Bakaïrí of the Batovy were Tumayaua's
114 relatives and friends. There was wonderful news about the first village that we had visited in 1884. The old Indian whom we at that time had called the "professor" was on his way to the Paranatinga with a few others! They wanted to pay a new visit to Antonio and his tribal brothers. Pauhaga, the first Bakaïrí whom we had greeted on the Batovy on our previous journey, lived at the moment in Tumayaua's community, and a strange coincidence thus decreed that we were to see him again likewise
131 in the very first village of the Kulisehu. Were we really on the
103 Kulisehu? Yes, the river was called Kulisehu, Kulisëu, or Kulihëu, since "h" and "s" are interchangeable in Bakaïrí, and all the tribes that we were looking for apparently also lived on its shores.

133 Cachoeiras, however, interrupted the conversation. We had set out at 12:00; after half an hour there came a low rock-cachoeira 60 meters long, through which we laboriously wound our way; then shortly after 1:00 No. 4 of this day's series, where we had to unload and stop for half an hour. At 2:45 we came to the fifth and last, which poured over the boulders in a mighty
122 surge. Here, however, the pilot went on strike against going any farther in our canoe, which was succumbing to acute dropsy. We took him aboard as a fourth and left the corpse to its fate. Tumayaua, we had to acknowledge approvingly, had truly come our way at a good time; it is highly improbable that we three with our baggage and without knowing the way would have reached the village through the final cachoeiras in the miserable canoe that could no longer carry the single Indian. Certainly we would not have reached this goal today. At 3:15 we landed on the left bank; we were in the "harbor."

/55 cont./

B 101 131 361 On the very first evening I obtained a fairly clear conception of the Kulisehu dwellers whom we might see. There were three Bakaïrí villages; they were supposed to be followed by a village of the "Nahuquá," two villages of the "Minakú," a village of the "Auití," a village of the "Yaulapihü," and on the "Kuluëne" a village of the "Trumaí," Between the Kulisehu and the Tamitotoala-Batovy, the "Kamayulá" and the "Waurá" were said to be living. The meaning of the river name "Kuluëne," which I now heard for the first time, remained uncertain. Only gradually did I come to understand that it is the chief river in the east, larger than the Kulisehu which empties into it. Thus the river that we had seen in 1884 flowing in from the southeast at Schingú-Koblenz /Xingu-Coblenz/ was not actually the "Kulisehu," as we had understood at that time and had believed up to now, but rather the combined Kuluëne-Kulisehu; the name "Kuluëne" was retained for the Schingú itself below the large fork, so that the Suyá, for instance, lived on the Kuluëne. If one wished to go by the nomenclature of the natives, one would have to use the name "Kuluëne" instead of "Schingú" and now say that the Kuluëne first receives the Kulisehu and then, at "Koblenz," the Ronuro along with the Tamitotoala-Batovy.

B 103 133 114

B 823 It was a difficult piece of work to get these statements from the Bakaïrí; there was much drawing in the sand, much pantomime carried on, and, if a section of the route remained obscure, they always began again from the beginning. For the time being I knew enough; the individual tribes apparently did not live very far apart, at most a journey of three days. I was also given some bad news, and I confess that for me it spoiled the hitherto very pleasant memory of the first expedition: when the Trumaí /56/ at that time at Koblenz had dashed away from us in sheer flight, and our soldiers had pursued them in order to recover some of the objects that they had taken along in spite of their haste, a Trumaí had been killed, as I now learned, in the foolhardy shooting that the men had permitted themselves and that allegedly was only aimed into the air. We could therefore hardly count on a cordial welcome there.

B 101 T 114

/91 cont./

353 a couple of fish drawings were drawn on with white loam. To our
531 greatest astonishment, triangles and squares were meant as illustrations of concrete objects and were not merely "geometric
126 figures." Wilhelm copied the entire frieze with painstaking precision, as Plates 20 and 21 show.[1] I shall later compare the practices among the Bakaïrí with those among the rest of the Kulisehu tribes. Unfortunately it was not possible to bring home the originals. The loam was so loosely applied that it immediately crumbled off, and so coarse-grained that it could not be permanently fixed with a coating of collodion, as was done successfully with the masks.

000 Toward sundown, led by Aramöke, who was parading around in his red scarf, we went to the camp, which was now pitched at the actual harbor, and there, after the new shipwreck, we encountered a great "drying of laundry." Antonio's oar was also broken.

123 A number of Indians stood and sat around on the slope of the shore when we set out on 6 October shortly after 7:00. João Pedro had ordered for himself half a dozen fresh beijús and was served promptly in the early morning, as by a civilized baker.

133 The powerful rapids called "kulúri" by the Bakaïrí, which we soon cut through without peril, was the last one on the Kulisehu: "tűxu åle," the stones are "all gone." On this stretch the river again greatly resembled the section beyond Independencia; many fallen trees in the water, frequent elevated sandy beaches or steep
[136] loam banks, the current somewhat faster. The small masarico with its little red legs came tripping rapidly toward us across the sand, called "go away, come, come," and flew ahead a little distance, to wait for us there again. The bends in the river were very numerous and the trip became a deadly bore. The sunlight was reflected glaringly by the light sand and the water glistened unbearably. At 2:45 we passed a right tributary-brook about eight meters wide, the Pakuneru. This is the same name that the Paranatinga bears among the Bakaïrí. At its source -- far away
[101] ih.... -- the kayáxo, the Kayapó /Cayapo/, are said to live;

[1] [See PP. 280-281 -- Analyst]

/91 cont./

133 Tumayaua declared that he had heard them shout. It is probable
[101] that the fire glow which we had repeatedly noticed in the east, and which had been regularly observed in the evening at Independencia, came from them. Barely an hour later, the Kewayeli, about 12 meters wide, flowed in from the left. On both banks queimada and plantings.

484 From the second village Tumayaua had taken along as a companion Pakurali, a short, stocky old man who did not look as though he were a great sorcerer, and whom we, with a lack of
[482] respect, called the "cab driver." They did not have much luggage with them and easily packed it into the mayakus, their
[286] back-baskets for carrying loads. They had taken along on the journey, not cotton hammocks, but hammocks made of palm fiber, which are lighter and dry quickly if they become wet. /92/ The two made rapid progress, even though they were bent on fishing at every favorable spot. We had let the great sorcerer sniff a bottle of ammonia, which had horrified him no little. After that he could no longer be enticed to smell any of our things. If one of us calls from a corner that it stinks there, everybody runs over and sniffs.

103 To the Third Bakaïrí Village (Kuyaqualiéti).

361 The harbor at which we arrived at 4:45 lay at the end of a lateral inlet and would not have been found without a guide.

The next morning, 6 October, we departed at 7:00 for the village and reached it in three-quarters of an hour on the usual
[532] winding forest-trail. On the way we saw a large human figure carved in tree bark, with three fingers on the hands and stump-like feet.

Harpia village, "kuyaquali-éti," also had only three houses and a flute-house, but was the liveliest of the three villages.
162 I counted 31 men and just about as many women and children.
621 Some of the latter, however, had run into the woods. There
574 were probably about 100 souls in the village. The chief, Porisa,
622 was a small, friendly gentleman; he had had beijú baked at night.

B /132 cont./
123 Then he dragged up one of the nicely plaited storage baskets
43] three-quarters of a meter high and, boasting happily, put it be-
[285] fore us as a present. The best was yet to come, however. A
B round mat was placed on the ground, the chief called, and out
[262] of the houses all the women and children came running and
slapped a beijú onto the mat, each one running back immediately
to make room. The agile flurry with which the beijús came
flying was charming. Some 16 cakes were lying there. Then
"ále" was said and we were dismissed. We, of course, outdid
ourselves in praise of the hospitality of the Bakaïrí and secretly
made up our mind to pay them back handsomely in Independencia.

B Since a heavy thunderstorm broke out, we stayed in the vil-
123 lage the last night. It was raining in torrents outside and
Tumayaua was describing his journeys. We all sat for a long time
around the fire, which the Indians let blaze up wildly by reck-
lessly tearing bunches of straw out of the wall of the festival hut.
Luchu had taken possession of the black frock-coat as his sole
article of clothing; another man had decorated his ear with a
fishhook. My erstwhile intended - it pains me not to be able
to keep this a secret -- honored me with scarcely a glance.
The song of woman's constancy!

000 /The remainder of Ch. VI, pp. 132-137, and Ch. VII, pp. 138-
152, are omitted in the translation./

/153/ Chapter VIII

I. Geography and Classification of the Tribes of the Schingú Source-region

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823
S
[115] The old chief of the Suyá, distinguished from his companions
by an extremely modest lip-plug, had enumerated for us in 1884
the long list of tribes that were settled on the upper Schingú
/Xingu/ and with his finger had drawn in the sand the source
rivers on whose banks they lived. Cf. Durch Central-brasilien
/Through Central Brazil/, page 214 /see 1: Steinen, this file,
pp. 104-106/. His 13 tribal names had tempted us to undertake

B /153 cont./
S
101 the second journey. By and large, one must say, the statements
131 of our informant were confirmed. His river branchings, it is true,
823 cannot satisfy the cartographic demands of our Karaiben exactitude, but even here he was more accurate than we could realize when we mistook the Kulisehu for the Kuluëne. But the astronomical position of the localities in relation to one another turned out to be completely distorted, since the Suyá needed a very long line to show the large number along the one branch of the source and blithely extended it endlessly to the south.

B
101 We do not know the dwellers along the Ronuro; Vogel under-
131 stood the Auetö chief who navigated the mouth at Schingú-Koblenz with him to say that there are Kabischí /Cabishi/ and Kayapó /Cayapo/ there. The Kabischí about whom anything is known live in the source region of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/ as part of the docile Paressí Indians, it would be most interesting and significant if the Paressí, like the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/, could be divided into a "docile" and a "wild" group, since it is precisely in this once populous and highly developed Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ tribe that the crude civilizing process has destroyed what cannot be replaced. It would not be surprising at all if the widely distributed Kayapó were on the Ronuro, since they frequently appeared on the Paranatinga and had merely been mistaken here for the Coroados-Bororó by the Brazilians.

B
101 Along the tributary of the Ronuro, the Batovy-Tamitotoala*,
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* Formerly incorrectly written Tamitatoala. tamitóto, falcon, owl = they killed (schóle) a falcon, as the Bakaïrí themselves told me.

down which we traveled in 1884, there are four villages of the Bakaïrí. Its lower course and the adjacent region on the right belongs to the Kustenaú /Custenau/ and the Waurá.

/154/ There follows, toward the east, the Kulisehu. On its left bank we have the three villages of the Bakaïrí, Maigéri or "tapir died," Iguéti or sparrow-hawk village, Kuyaqualiéti or Nafpy village.

/154 cont./

000 harpy village. Then, on the right bank, comes the village of
B the Nahuquá. Again on the left, somewhat apart and not visited
W by us, there is a fourth village of the Bakaïrí. Farther down-
101 stream the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ are on the left bank in the
361 two villages which the Bakaïrí designated as Paischuéti (dogfish
103 village) and Kalúti. It seems, however, that there are three
villages; the Paischuéti-Mehinakú also spoke of the Yutapühü --
this would be "Kaluti" -- whose harbor we passed on 15 October,
of the Atapilú, and at the same time warning us against the
B Ualapihü, Ulavapitü, that is, our Yaulapiti. From the Mehinakú
W territory there begin numerous canals, which, along with several
487 lagoons, are found throughout the region between the lower
A courses of the Kulisehu and Batovy. The village of the Auetö
[361] may be regarded as a sort of central point for the canal traffic.*

A
[101]

* It is really strange that their name seems to have this meaning. They are called "Auití" by their neighbors; now in Guaraní the unsoftened adjectival form apité means "what is at the center, in the middle."

A On two lagoons, in two villages, we find the Yaulapiti, on a
101 third lagoon the Kamayurá /Camayura/, who had four villages
361 close together and were on the point of uniting them into a
single one. The Arauití (see p. 94) are a mixture of Yaulápiti
and Auetö.

T The Kulisehu flows into the Kuluëne; a few hours of rowing
101 led to the Trumaí settled in two villages on its right bank not
361 far above Schingú-Koblenz. This tribe, driven away by the
167 Suyá, had the intention of founding a new home near the Auetö.
Y The Nahuquá live upstream on the Kuluëne, and also on small
361 tributaries between it and the Kulisehu, in a series of villages
103 that have separate names. We become acquainted with single
101 individuals from the Guapirí, Yanumakapü, Guikurú /Kuikuru/,
and Yaurikumá. the Yanumakapü, the Enomakabihü of the
Bakaïrí, do not live on the main river, and of the Guapirí the
Bakaïrí specifically pointed out that they are found overland
between the Kulisehu and Kuluëne.

/154 cont./

000 B 101 823 [115] between the Kulisehu and Kuluëne. In the first Bakaïrí village Paleko enumerated for me the Nahuquá villages of the Kuluëne and indicated the direction from Maigéri in which they were to be sought; starting at the upper course, there are: 1. Anuakúru

Y 361 103 101 or Anahukú southeast, 2. Aluíti or Kanaluíti east, 3. Yamurikumá or Yaurikumá east to east-southeast, 4. Apalaquíri east-northeast, 5. Guikurú east-northeast, 6. Mariapé northeast. Beyond them came the Trumaí. Thus, with the Guapirí, the Yanumakapü, and the Nahuquá of the Kulisehu, we would have nine Nahuquá villages.

A S 361 In order to round out the picture, I shall also mention the Suyá, who live on the main river a journey of three short days below Schingú-Koblenz and of whom we did not see anything on the second expedition, but heard bad rumors, and the Manitsauá, who live on a left tributary that flows in farther downstream and are well known to the Kamayurá and Yaulapiti.

A S 729 In 1884 we met a /155/ number of Manitsauá in captivity among the Suyá. Not until 1887 did we hear about the Yarumá

Y 101 [648] A [829] Y [301] or Arumá who, very soon after the Trumaí, were said to have had an unpleasant visit by the Suyá, and about whom the Kamayurá gave us the remarkable information that they wore a metallic-sounding ear-ornament (cf. p. 104). It is probable that we must regard them as Mundurukú /Mundurucu/, the famous warrior tribe of the Tapajoz, whose trail we missed on the Schingú long ago. The Paressí called the Mundurukú "Sarumá," which is phonetically the same as Yarumá. A specimen of a club of Karajá-like /Caraja/ workmanship, which was

Y S 101 Y [829] attributed to the Yarumá, cannot invalidate the evidence presented in the agreement of the names. The Aratá lead an existence even more obscure to us; the Nahuquá asserted that they were not worth anything, and the Suyá geographer described them as neighbors of theirs. A Karajá tribe?

C 361 Finally, I must also consider the Kayapó, likewise in the upper source region; they are said to live between the Kulisehu and the Kuluëne, above the Nahuquá, along the sources of the Pakuneru, the small Kulisehu tributary whose name is identical with the Bakaïrí name for the Paranatinga. The Suyá geographer

5 /155 cont./ The Suyá geographer
101 already mentioned the "Kayuquará" as the outermost inhabitants, and I had assumed at that time, correctly it now seems, that by that the Kaya-Kó-Kayapó were meant.

B The long list of names looks worse than it actually is. Each
101 village has its name, and the stranger who hears it cannot at first
103 judge whether he should expect a new or a familiar tribe there.
621 The simplest example is the Nahuquá. For the Indian, "Nahuquá"
Y refers only to the inhabitants of the Kulisehu village; the
101 Yaurikumá, Guikurú, etc. do not call themselves Nahuquá, and
621 it was merely because of our happening to stop first among the
"Nahuquá" that I am using this name as the tribal name. There
Y may be slight dialectal differences, but I was able to record a
[197] list of the most important words from the Yanumakapü and am convinced, and for the Yaurikumá and Guikurú as well, that their language corresponds throughout with the "Nahuquá." The
B Bakaïrí are inspired by a strong feeling of nationality, for they
101 call themselves Bakaïrí whether they live in the source region of
62 the Arinos, the Paranatinga, the Batovy, or the Kulisehu. By
[619] analogy with the Nahuquá, the Bakaïrí of the Kulisehu would
[103] have to call themselves by their village names: Maigéri, Iguéti, and Kuyaqualiéti.

B It would have been a blessing for ethnography if all the
101 tribes had taken as a model this fine example of the Bakaïrí.
128 We have several clear examples here of how a family community,
197 or, if one wishes, a tribe, becomes scattered, how each separate
619 community is inclined to give up the old connection and therefore loses it irrevocably, must become a new "tribe" if the displacement continues, and closer relations are maintained, not with neighbors related by blood, but those of another extraction. Under these circumstances, there is nothing else for us to do /156/ but to determine first of all the linguistic relationships. They are not to be confused with blood relationships. But under the simple narrow circumstances which are involved here, linguistic relationship and blood relationship coincide far more than among more highly civilized peoples, who, through writing, possess a language that has developed a distinct character. If a

B /156 cont./
101 couple of foreign individuals enter one of these family communi-
128 ties, they will, it is readily admitted, bring about a crossbreeding
197 which is not disclosed by a study of the language. But inter-
619 mixtures on a greater scale also change the language tremendously.
The foreign women who become mothers exert an influence on
the language of the children, which, in the Island Karaiben, for
000 example, is plainly evident. The children of the Karaiben men
and Aruak women did not by any means speak Karaiben, as the
young mulattoes in Brazil speak Portuguese, but rather spoke a
new language which had important grammatical elements and
phonetic peculiarities from the mothers. This is not very sur-
prising, for the cultural differences between the two tribes were
not basic, the number of foreign women was large, and they
brought all their local traditions into the marriage, since the
conquering men came from the outside. The children were com-
pelled both to make a compromise with the language materials
on the father's and the mother's side, and to choose between the
prefixes and suffixes offered by the one and the other, which are
of decisive importance for the alteration of the word roots as a
result of the influence on the stem's initial or final sound, and
they experienced the reciprocal effect, uncurbed by any school-
master culture, but instead freely active, of the phonetic laws
B valid up to then in the two parental tribes. Among these primi-
101 tive peoples, the measure of linguistic differentiation will also
197 be roughly the measure of anthropological differentiation.

If we wish to cast about for linguistic relationship among the Kulisehu "tribes" and thus reduce the list, we must dwell for a moment on the linguistic groups occurring in the rest of Brazil.

T There are still many individual tribes who, either because
101 their linguistic relatives are no longer living or because we do
197 not know them, speak isolated languages. We must first of all
put the Trumaí among them, in order to dispose of them im-
T mediately. I did not succeed in finding a place for them anywhere,
[192] near or far. They have borrowed a good many words from the
culture of their neighbors, the Kamayurá and Auetö, but the core
and essence of the idiom is peculiar and of a different origin.

T 101 197 /156 cont./ and essence of the idiom is peculiar and of a different origin, just as their physical type is different from all Kulisehu tribes.

B 197 From the Cordilleras to the Atlantic Ocean, from the La Plata to the Antilles, there are four large linguistic families: Tapuya, Tupí, Karaiben /Carib/, and Nu-Aruak /Arawak/.

B 19[illegible] 101 131 /157/ The Tapuya are the east Brazilian aborigines, the forest dwellers of the coastal region and the occupants of the interior as far as a western boundary, of which the Schingú may be regarded as the main portion. They fall into two divisions, a western one, the Gēs according to Martius, and an eastern one, to which belong the primitive forest tribes of the east and the Botokuden /Botocudo/. The western outposts of the Gēs are the Kapayó and Suyá. With the latter we need not concern ourselves further, in view of the report about our second expedition, except that now there must be added the interesting fact that formerly the Suyá lived still much farther west. They were settled west of the Paranatinga, along its left tributary, the Rio Verde, in the neighborhood of the Kayabí /Cayabi/ and Bakaïrí, and from here they were not long ago driven back, one might say, to the Schingú. The entire mass of Gēs has lived east of the Schingú from time immemorial, and the nearest relatives of the Suyá, the Apinagēs /Apinaye/, live in the angle where the Araguay /Araguaia/ and Tokantins /Tocantins/ flow together.

The Tupí are dispersed over vast areas. By and large their northern boundary lies along the northern tributaries of the Amazon; they occupied the coast from the mouth of the Amazon to that of the La Plata; the Guaraní of Paraguay merely speak a dialect of Tupí. We encounter Tupí on the upper course of the Schingú, of the Tapajoz, of the Madeira, even of the Maranhão. Their language was elevated by the Jesuits to be the language for communication, the "lingoa geral." A great practical benefit, but unfortunate for the science of language. The interest in Tupí has caused scholarship in Brazil to treat all other languages in a most stepmotherly fashion; countless volumes from ancient and modern times are devoted to it; there is nothing more than meager vocabularies from any of the Tapuya tribes, either the Botokuden or a Gēs tribe, the linguistic study of which would be one of the

/157 cont./

197 10 131 world's most important, on account of the low cultural level, and which in reality formed the nucleus of the original population of eastern Brazil. The Brazilian scholar sees practically everything that has been thought about the natives as sub specie of the Tupí. He is happy to put Tupí in the closest relationship with the Aryans and derives from Tupí the other languages of his native land; these natives, however, are so widely distributed already that it is quite superfluous to put them in addition where they themselves have not yet been. On the Kulisehu, the Auetö and the Kamayurá, the latter in greater agreement with the lingoa geral, belong with them.

The Karaiben /Carib/ have been known north of the Amazon River since the times of the discoverers. On the Kulisehu we were the Karaiben; and thus probably originally, too, the first Karaiben were the first strangers who incorrectly understood the tribal name and made it the word that was used to refer to them themselves, as has happened in numerous other cases and is indeed often difficult to avoid during the noisy reception in an unknown language. The name, of course, is derived from the ancestral Tupí /Tupímanen/, not out of the Tupí spoken either in the Lesser Antilles or on the north coast of the continent. The Bakaïrí /158/ called us "Karáiba" with definite emphasis on the "a"; the word may be explained as "not like us" in their language, whereas the opposite, "like us," is called Karále. Let us ignore the very dubious etymology, however; it is enough for us that the word is Karaiben in our sense, was taken over by the Tupí of the Kulisehu in the already abbreviated form "karái" -- not in the form "karyb" of the lingoa geral! -- and, according to everything, must for us be "Karaibe" and not, as people are now largely in the habit of writing it, "Karibe." On the upper Schingú the Bakaïrí and the Nahuquá are Karaiben. Their language is radically different from Tupí, and the favorite hypothesis of several excellent researchers, namely, that the Tupí and Karaiben are related, has been conclusively eliminated by the two Schingú expeditions; the root words of the two languages show no correspondence.

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131 /158 cont./ The Nu-Aruak fall into the subdivisions of the Nu tribes and the Aruak. "Nu-" is the characteristic fossil of these tribes, the pronominal prefix of the first person, highly characteristic for most of them, which we come across from Bolivia and the Mato Grosso to the Lesser Antilles. In the Guianas we see the Nu-Aruak in intimate contact with the Karaiben; on the Lesser Antilles, where the Aruak were attacked and oppressed by the Karaiben, a true amalgamation would in all probability have come about without the arrival of the Europeans, bringing destruction. Father Raymond Breton in 1665 left us a dictionary of the Island Karaiben, whose Indian-French part, unfortunately only this, has become generally available in a facsimile edition, thanks to Julius Platzmann (Leipzig, 1892), and strove earnestly to separate the words of the Karaiben men and the Aruak women, where they differed, but proved by his compilation that two languages were no longer spoken independently of each other, as was mentioned above, but that the Karaiben men had allowed the substance and form of their old "mother tongue" to be tremendously changed by the new "language of their mothers."

B
[191] On the distant Kulisehu we met the exact mirror image of the conditions in the Guianas. The Mehinakú, Kustenaú, Waurá, and Yaulapiti are Nu-Aruak; their influence was clearly asserted in language and culture traits among the Nahuquá who had taken several Mehinakú women.

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361 Therefore, according to linguistic investigation, the tribes of the Schingú source region are to be classified as follows (the number of villages in parentheses):

Karaiben: Bakaïrí (8), Nahuquá (9);
Nu-Aruak: Mehinakú (3), Waurá (1), Kustenaú (1), Yaulapiti (2);
Tupí: Kamayurá (4), Auetö (1);
Isolated: Trumaí (2).

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197 /159/ Just as the Nahuquá embrace nine different "tribes," which correspond merely to nine different independent villages, we could likewise put the Mehinakú, Waurá, and Kustenaú together as one tribe. These three tribes speak exactly the same idiom. They also, as we shall see, form an ethnological unit,

B 101 191 197 /159 cont./

and, in order not to do violence to the perfectly justified tribal name[illegible], as actually happened in the case of the Nahuquá, we may call them, where we need a comprehensive term, the potter tribes, according to their most important ethnological characteristic. Beside them stand the Yaulapiti as a closely related Nu-Aruak tribe, but one already clearly different in dialect and revealing other influences.

B T 101 197 Thus the arithmetical problem has been simplified to the extent that we have before us Karaiben in the Bakaïrí and Nahuquá, Nu-Aruak in the potter tribes and the Yaulapiti, Tupí in the Auetö and the Kamayurá, and, as an indivisible remainder, the Trumaí.

II. Anthropological.

B T 126 128 141 In order to have a record of the physical appearance of the Kulisehu Indians, insofar as was possible during our brief acquaintance with the individual tribes, a series of measurements were taken, which did not turn out to be very numerous and are not evenly distributed according to the different tribes or the two sexes, yet nevertheless offer interesting material. Possible sources of error on the part of the observer may be put down as constant, since the measurements were all taken by Ehrenreich. He also took a far greater number of photographs than could be reproduced here; some of them, however, became very spotty and difficult to reproduce.* He expects to make further use of the illustrative

B T 128 141

* As is shown in detail in the list of illustrations, the following are reproduced here in photographs: both sexes of the Bakaïrí, Mehinakú and Kamayurá, as well as only men of the Nahuquá and Auetö, while Yaulapiti and Trumaí are missing altogether.

material and to deal with the collected material of the measurements in detail and according to its comparative value for the

B /229 cont./
*171 laterally hollowed end of the wooden support, lashing it, and
411 covering it with resin.
[237]

Sometimes a pierced, hollow tucum nut is shoved up on the arrow shaft to slightly above the middle; one or two holes are cut into the nut on the side. In flight a high-pitched whirring or whistling is heard. /230/ While the noise-making arrows are used only for bird hunting, the others are intended for all hunting and the shooting of fish; those with barbs are exclusively fish arrows. Arrows with sawlike notched wooden points do not
B [101] occur on the Schingú except among the Yarumá, whom we regard as a southern group of the Mundurukú /Mundurucu/ of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/.

T The Suyá and Trumaí had arrows with long pointed bamboo
171 knives for war and for hunting jaguar. Spindle-shaped bamboo
411 splinters up to 35 centimeters long and up to 36 millimeters wide,
[824] knife-sharp on the edges, are mounted on the wooden stick driven deep into the reed shaft; the wooden stick is embedded in a groove
T [284] cut below along the inner surface of the splinter. And, to be sure, the pointed spindle is only loosely fastened with a little resin and thread; when shot it remains in the body that was hit, while the shaft with the wooden stick flies off behind it.

B The most remarkable thing about the arrow is the feathering
*171 at the lower end. Two feathers, more correctly two halves of
411 feathers, for the feather is split at the shaft, are carefully fastened
237 in a spiral twist which goes around one-fourth of the circumfer-
ence; each flag stands with the plane of its upper part perpendicu-
lar on that of its lower part, so that the flying arrow spirals
B [284] through the air. The feathers are set in a row of small holes, which are made with an agutí tooth and enlarged with a pointed buriti splinter, and, one may say, are sewed onto the arrow; the cotton thread is wound around the ends and is itself protected by
B being wound with waimbé bark (Philodendron). Usually the
[825] feathers come from gallinaceous birds, jakú (Penelope) and mutung (Crax), from the falcon, and from the blue arara. Where the hand grasps the arrow shaft there is a wrapping of waimbé. At the bottom a notch is cut in parallel to the upper part of the feathers.

/366 cont./

193 193 Could we not regard Keri and Kame as personifications of the sun and moon? Only they were not moon and sun or feather balls, but were merely called that; the celestial bodies sun and moon were not made out of Bakaïrí bones. Now, the oldest things and the oldest human beings belong together; the father of the tribe is the natural owner of the sun. If, in order to explain his origin, I have him come forth from some kind of substance and be animated, there is nothing there to be personified, but only to be named. The person is quite automatically furnished by the founder of the tribe, who is completely unknown historically, but is certainly to be taken for granted; it is therefore only a question of where the name came from.

● 101 174 In the first place one should consider whether the names do not have a geographical meaning. Let us orient ourselves! The potter tribes of the Kulisehu are, in our latitudes, the easternmost outposts of the Nu-Aruak. The huge main body lives to the west of the Arinos, the tributary of the Tapajoz. Here we have first of all, in the source region of the Arinos and Juruena, the Paressí group, formerly numerous and made up of many separate tribes, of whom we know that today they have shifted southwards. Farther to the west there are huge areas inhabited by the Nu-Aruak. The Paressí who visited us in Cuyabá called the sun kamái and the Arinos, as the river toward the rising sun that bounded their territory to the east, kame-uhína = sun-river. Still, it could have been some other tribe of the Paressí group; it could certainly have been ancestors of the /367/ Mehinakú tribes, who today have advanced eastward as far as the Kulisehu,* from whom the stimulus

* They are the very ones who have "sun" and "moon" in the unaltered form "kámę" and "kęri," while the Paressí of Diamantino had kamai, sun, but kayö, moon, which, to be sure, does not mean much with respect to the old Paressí, who were split up into many subtribes.

/367 cont./

101 174 for the Bakaïrí could have come in a time that disappeared long ago, it is possible that the tribe whose women once influenced the Bakaïrí tradition so profoundly has not existed in independent form for a long time -- all these details are not to be determined. But it does not matter much. Of course, it could be significant that among the Paressí the Arinos is called sun-river, Kame-river, or east-river. For the tribes which, according to the Bakaïrí, were made by the hero Kame are "toda gente de Arinos," "all the people of the Arinos!" They enumerated the Paressí, Apiaká /Apiaca/, Mundurukú /Mundurucu/, Suyá (formerly on the Arinos), Maué (on the Tapajoz). Keri, on the other hand, made "Bakaïrí /Bacairi/, Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, Nahuquá, Bororó, Kayapó /Cayapo/, Kayabí /Cayabi/;" that is to say, the tribes living east and south of the Arinos. The division has nothing whatever to do with a distinction according to languages, for there are Nu-Aruak and Gēs on both sides; it embraces two large, spatially affiliated groups which are by no means lying strictly west-east; the one contains western, northwestern, and northern tribes, from the vantage point of the Bakaïrí, the other eastern, southeastern, and southern tribes. The chief representatives of the two groups, however, the Bakaïrí and Paressí, actually reside in such a way that the former live east of the latter. We thus have the following situation: 1. Kame = Nu-Aruak "sun," but among the Bakaïrí hero of the second rank and lord of the moon, is the tribal ancestor of the western and northern tribes, and 2. Keri = Nu-Aruak "moon," but among the Bakaïrí the most favored hero and lord of the sun, is the tribal ancestor of the eastern and southern tribes.

Here I should like to draw on an interesting example found in Alexander von Humboldt. ** In the vicinity of Maípure, the

** Reise in die Aequinoktial-Gegenden /Journey into the Equinoctial Regions/, III, p. 173.

place named after a Nu-Aruak tribe, stand two rocks in the cataracts of the Orinoco, one of which, "the so-called Keri or

/378 cont./

539 The Bakaïrí lived with Keri; Keri's house lay on the east side of the salto. Both together also made a hill on the west side of the Paranatinga, from which one had a broad view.

Kame first built a festival hut and first carved a flute. He invited Keri and his people. They all danced to the sound of the flute, stamping and swinging their arms in rhythm, from the dwellings to the flute house and back again. Kame served his guests pogu to drink and /379/ beijús. In return they gave presents of arrows and cotton thread.

Keri then called his people together, too, for a dance festival; they danced and also drank pogu in the afternoon on the large open place which one can still see at the salto; then they plaited makanari and imiga costumes out of buriti, swung the rattles, blew the flutes. Now Keri could also invite Kame and his people. Many came; Keri was the master of the imeo dance, and people danced for two days and two nights in succession, resting only a little in the evening and refreshing themselves in the morning with a bath in the river.

But during the festival a quarrel broke out between the brothers about the people. Keri had made many Bakaïrí out of ubá reed, but Kame had made nothing. Keri accused him of laziness; they quarreled, and Kame, the weaker one, fled. He took refuge in the southwest, made a hill on the Rio Beijaflor (hummingbird), a left tributary of the Paranatinga, and there also made tribes: Apiaká /Apiaca/, Paressí, and Guaná. It is very interesting that the Guaná are also mentioned here, a Paraguayan tribe split up into several divisions, of whose presence in this part of the country nothing was ever said; in very, very ancient times they also "lived on the Beijaflor." [101]

Keri climbed up his hill on the Paranatinga and discovered smoke in the distance. He went to look for Kame and found many, many people. Angrily he accosted Kame: "Why did you make so many people?" Again they started quarreling, but Kame left the Paressí, with whom he was living, and accompanied Keri back to the salto. It was not long before another quarrel broke out because of the people. Keri had made new

/379 cont./

539 ones and Kame fled, but this time to the Arinos. Keri looked for him, found him, and again brought him back to the Paranatingo salto. It seems that this quarreling and roaming about are described in order to make it possible for each of the two to have made a number of tribes living far apart. Finally, Keri
● [101] made the Bakaïrí, Kayabí, Bororó, Nahuquá, Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, and Kame made the Apiaká, Paressí, Guaná, Maué, Suyá, Mundurukú /Mundurucu/, "all the Arinos tribes." I have already discussed (cf. p. 435) how this grouping can be viewed essentially as an eastern one for Keri and a western one for Kame, and I mentioned that if there is a distinction here according to the sun = east and the moon = west, Keri is actually to be thought of as lord of the "eastern" tribes, despite his Aruak meaning = moon (cf. p. 439), for the Bakaïrí hero with the moon-name merely given to him by the Aruak /Arawak/ women was, of course, for the Bakaïrí the owner of the sun = east. All the tribes were made out of arrow-reed, the Portuguese out of a dark kind, the color of the gun stock. Keri had first given the gun to the Bakaïrí (naturally!). But they did not know how to handle it; one of them would shoot past another's ear. They were afraid of shooting, "just as we still have seen among the people on the Kulisehu." Then Keri gave the rifle to the Karaiben /Carib/.

/380/ Departure of Keri and Kame. Keri and Kame again leave the salto, and Keri appoints Arimoto as chief of the Bakaïrí remaining there. Arimoto was also born at the salto. This chief, however, misused his position and killed many Bakaïrí. "But wasn't he a Bakaïrí himself?" I asked. "Probably, but he was a wretched scoundrel. If he had been good, his descendants would be chiefs of the Bakaïrí to this day." This time Keri and Kame went to the Kulisehu. The Bakaïrí followed him in their distress and complained about Arimoto. At once Keri and Kame went back and killed the faithless one, who defended himself violently and for his part tried to kill Keri.

/386 cont./

539 the jaguar stood up and went in the direction the ant bear had
825 gone. The ant bear was inside the mountain and was singing. The jaguar went into the house. Singing, the ant bear came along with his back to the door. As he was coming, the jaguar seized him. He ate some of his leg. When he had eaten, he let go and went home. The termites made the ant bear well again. When he had recovered, the ant bear got up.

The little ánt-bear (Myrmecophaga tetradactyla) said he would kill the jaguar. "Oh pshaw, you're no giant," the people said to him. "Then take magic poison along," the people told him. The little ant bear did as they said; he took magic poison in a gourd to Oka's house and placed the gourd in front of the door. Oka went out. When he caught sight of the gourd, he said, "That is something nice for me," and opened it. Then Oka became ill. The jaguar died.

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Chapter XIV.

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On the Question of the Original Home of the Karaiben.

I. Historical Data on the Bakaïrí.

• 101 In contrast to the East Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ of the Schingú, found first by our expedition of 1884 and 1887, I call the Bakaïrí west of the Paranatinga, long known to the Brazilians, the West
131 Bakaïrí. Today there is one village of them, to which our
[361] Antonio belongs, on the left bank of the Paranatinga, and a second one on the small tributary stream of the Arinos, the Rio Novo, where Reginaldo ruled as chief and where in 1884 we made
[464] our first acquaintance with the tribe. A few individuals, whom one can count on one's fingers, however, are to be found as workers on one fazenda or another in the western source-region of the Paranatinga; there are also supposed to be a few on the Rio Preto in the vicinity of Diamantino, who represent the
131 remains of a former settlement. At any rate, since the Arinos
133 and Paranatinga flow into the Tapajoz /Tapajós/, the West

/387 cont./

131 Bakaïrí are all inhabitants of the eastern source-region of the
133 Tapajoz and are to be found only in the region of the plateau above the rapids and waterfalls that put great obstacles in the way of the journey downstream to the Amazonas /Amazon/.

175 The West Bakaïrí have been known since the first raiding
101 expeditions of the "Paulistas," the discoverers of the Mato Grosso who boldly pushed forward from the province of S. Paulo on their slave hunts at the beginning of the previous century. Even Antonio Pires de Campos, from whom we have a report* from the year 1723,

[113]

* Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico XXV, p. 448. Rio de Janeiro, 1862.

"after the experience of so many years," had heard of them; after he has briefly characterized (page 448) the tribes -- today long since disappeared -- of the upper Cuyabá and the Rio Manso emptying into it, he continues: "All these have the same way of life, the same type of weapons, and everything else the same, they are nomadic tribes and, with their raiding expeditions, succeed in causing harm to the heathen people named Bacayris, who live on the tributaries of the Maranhão (sic!); and from there on various stations of heathens /388/ with countless villages follow one another, as I have been informed, and all very warlike people and masters of their weapons."

The Bakaïrí are also mentioned in a report from the year 1749 about a trip from Pará into the source region of the Madeira, and furthermore it may also have happened in many an old note about the origin of the Mato Grosso gold mines. It is always only a casual mention of the tribal name, which does not offer us further information. At most we may conclude from these citations that in the previous century the Bakaïrí must have been more numerous and perhaps had advanced somewhat more to the west and southwest than is the case today. This will come out more clearly, however, from their own tradition.

175 Closer contact with the Brazilians did not take place until
797 the beginning of the 'twenties in our century. At that time

2: Steinen--466E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/388 cont./

195 "Padre" Lopes reached as far as the region of the Paranatinga
197 and converted the West Bakaïrí to Christianity. Lopes was an adventurous gold-seeker, about whom the painter of the Langsdorff Expedition* of 1828 remarks that, accompanied by

[113] * Hercules Florence; cf. Revista Trimensal, Vol. 38, II, p. 280.

Apiaká /Apiaca/ Indians, he had gone up the Rio dos Peixes, a tributary of the Arinos, and "fought with many savages." At any rate, since his visit, which cost the lives of Reginaldo's grandfather and others, the West Bakaïrí have been regarded as
195 Christians. How superfluous the brutalities of the noble Lopes were comes out best from the following words of the geographer
[113] Ayras de Cazal in his Corographia Brasilica /Chorography of Brazil/ of the year 1817, therefore before Lopes: "The Baccahirys who inhabit the regions adjacent to the Rio das Mortes carry on ceaseless warfare against all types of quadrupeds and birds. To this day these people have not engaged in any hostilities against the Christians. It is said that they are white and friendly: one reason why they are regarded as a horde of the Paricys."

● [101] The real reason why the Bakaïrí could have been regarded as a horde of the Paressí, as happened in the case of Martius, is simply that there was no accurate information about either one
[199] of the neighboring tribes. If the natives occasionally came to Cuyabá in small numbers in order to beg for a few gifts of ironware, shirts, trousers, or blankets from the government, they were felt to be annoying guests whom one tried to get rid of as quickly as possible, and about whose language or peculiarities no official needed to bother. They did not live, say, near an avenue of communication connecting two important towns, but rather, on the contrary, sat behind the very last little colonists, who themselves received very little attention, there where there were no avenues at all; they did not do these neighbors any harm and were therefore of no interest whatever to the government.
197 The good Chief Felipe in the Paranatinga village racked his brains

/390 cont./

131 brought about by the gold-seeker Correa. The expeditions in
173 search of the fabulous gold mines of the Martyrios were able to
177 cross the Paranatinga most conveniently here and wanted to use
167 the canoes of the Bakaïrí as well as to obtain food supplies from
361 them. Antonio was born toward the end of the fifties, at the earliest, in Limoeiro, a small settlement.

131 The ancestors of Antonio offer a chronological handle. His
173 father, Seseriari, also had a Portuguese name; his grandfather,
601 like an Indian in the first Batovy village, was called Karawako, his great-grandfather Yakauka, his great-great-grandfather Kupare, and the last one whose name Antonio still knew was his great-great-great-grandfather, Mariukara. The latter lived near the salto of the Paranatinga. If we estimate 30 years per generation, the succession might go back to before the middle of the eighteenth century. Caetano, probably born around 1790, was still supposed to be able to call by name six or seven ancestors, which I unfortunately could no longer confirm, so that his genealogy would reach back to the middle of the seventeenth century. Caetano's father was born on the Paranatinga, above the salto, it was his grandfather who was born on the salto itself. In any case, the statements of the Bakaïrí agree perfectly with the report of Antonio Pires that the Bakaïrí were in contact with the tribes on the upper course of the Cuyabá at the beginning of the previous century.

131 It is not unimportant to determine as much of the tradition
173 as possible, insofar as it does not yet appear as legend and fairy
● [101] tale, because it is very desirable to know whether the present-day West Bakaïrí, the inhabitants of the Tapajoz source-region, or the East Bakaïrí in the source region of the Schingú /Xingu/ occupy the older habitations.

/391/ The West Bakaïrí definitely put the original home of the entire tribe at the salto of the Paranatinga, so that our Karaiben /Carib/ tribe would originally have belonged to the Tapajoz. But the western source-rivers of the Schingú and the eastern ones of the Paranatinga lie so close together that it is a matter of pure chance where the tribes moving downstream arrive. "One of the grandfathers* of Caetano was slain in the forest by

173 /391 cont./ "one of the grandfathers" of Caetano was slain in the forest by
131 another Bakaïrí; at that time there were serious conflicts within
[167] the tribe, and the result was -- according to the report of the Paranatinga people -- that one part of the Bakaïrí moved from the salto to the Kulisehu.

[361] Between the Paranatinga and the Ronuro, too, there is a "tapeira," a ruined settlement of bygone days, known to the West
[487] Bakaïrí. At one time a route led from the salto as far as the Auetö on the Kulisehu, which therefore must have led across the Ronuro or its source streams and the Batovy. The Bakaïrí are
[167] said to have fled along this route and to have settled in part on the Batovy, in part on the Kulisehu. They were said to have ob-
[177] tained mandioca twigs, batatas, and cará /Dioscorea/ fruits from the Nahuquá for planting.

These are, therefore, very definite statements. It is difficult to say, however, when the separation between West and East Bakaïrí took place and whether it occurred in several thrusts.
● [101] Just as the tribe of the Auetö and of the Nahuquá appears in the tradition of the Paranatinga village, so have the names of the rest of the Kulisehu tribes, the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, Yaulapiti, Kustenaú /Custenau/, Waurá, Kamayurá /Camayura/, and Trumaí, been known there from the times of Caetano's grandfathers. In the third Bakaïrí village on the Batovy we found a small piece of iron that was said to have been brought in former times from the Pakuneru, the Paranatinga; thus occasional visits back and forth may have occurred, or at least Parantinga-Bakaïrí may now and then have reached the Schingú.

[167] In general, however, I gained the impression that the actual separation of the two Bakaïrí groups took place around the middle or the beginning of the previous century at the latest, when the Brazilians settled in the Mato Grosso and caused major shifts of the tribes. Probably it was not merely a matter of individual internal feuds among the people at the salto, but also of malevolent neighbors who oppressed and occasionally drove away the peaceable Bakaïrí.

175 In the Brazilian sources the Nambiquara /Nambicuara/,
648 Tapanhuna /Tapanyuna/, and Kayabí /Cayabi/ are given as

2: Steinen--472 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Apiaca S.P2
Cayabi
Mundurucu SQ13

B 175 648 /391 cont./ enemies of the Bakaïrí, but there is no more specific information about them. The Nambiquara and Tapanhuna, enemies of the Apiaká, lived in the Arinos region; of the Tapanhuna, Joaquim Ferreira Moutinho* states that they spoke the Bakaïrí

B [113]

* Noticia da Provincia de Mato Grosso, S. Paulo, 1869, p. 216.

language; unfortunately no notes were ever made on the language of the Bakaïrí, let alone on that of the Tapanhuna, /392/ and unfortunately the author has no claim to any credibility in these matters, as we shall see among the Bororó.

B M 175 648 [113] M [131] A statement in the fortieth volume of the Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico (Rio de Janeiro, 1877, II, p. 97) is worth mentioning; it refers to the tribe of the Mundrukú /Mundurucu/, once feared far and wide, which today sits along the middle and lower Tapajoz, but formerly lived farther upstream. Antonio Manoel Gonçalves Tocantins, who visited them in 1875, remarks: B M [101] "In former times they also overcame the Bakaïrí, whom they call Mureufuâtes and whom they forced to go into the Matogrosso where they ('aldeïert') settled in villages." The latter addition shows that this can only refer to events of relatively recent times, in the Brazilian era. Nor should one believe, on the basis of this B M [131] passage, that the Baikïrí lived in the province of Pará; among the dwellers along the lower Tapajoz, the region of the upper course and of the source arms Juruena and Arinos is called "Matogrosso"; the Mundrukú themselves lived next to the Apiaká in the province of Mato Grosso, where they are called Saruma, and harassed all the tribes of the Arinos and Schingú area with their attacks. The Bakaïrí, who called them "Mandurukú," remembered them vividly, but said that their attacks no longer occur, since they have moved to the north.

B A 173 648 ooo The chief enemies of the West Bakaïrí, and probably even of the united Bakaïrí, if the tradition is correct, were the Kayabí. "Unvanquished savages in the vicinity of the salto," says the report of the Directoria dos Indios. The following is what I was

/392 cont./ The following is what I was
A gradually able to learn about them from the Bakaïrí. The Kayabí
105 call themselves Paruá; they are said to be -- but this requires
[101] confirmation -- relatives of the Kamayurá on the Kuliseu, ac-
cording to their language, and would therefore be a Tupí tribe.
A They are strong people and, like the Tupí tribe of Apiaká living
[266] nearby, practitioners of anthropophagy. They plant mandioca,
[241] maize, batatas, mandubí, etc., just like the rest. They have
A nicely worked clubs of bakayuva palm-wood with plaiting around
[411] them, which, about one and a half meters long, have the shape
of flat staffs and are worn in a rope on the arm. In this respect,
too, they would correspond with the Kamayurá. The arrows are
of kambayuva reed, like those of the Yuruna, but smaller. They
do not have throwing boards -- an important difference from the
Kamayurá.

A The Kayabí live on the Rio Verde, whose sources lie be-
[131] tween the Rio Novo village and the Paranatinga village of the
B Bakaïrí and which flows into the Paranatinga from the right,
A below the famous salto. They are therefore, of course, the
[101] very closest neighbors of the Bakaïrí. The hostility has existed
B since ancient times. Only in the very beginning did they tolerate
A each other: it is said that the Kayabí appeared among the
173 Bakaïrí in order to live near them and settled along a brook in
648 their vicinity; then the strife began. I recall the Kayabí of the
Keri legend; there they already appear in heaven, cf. p. 448.
The old Bakaïrí are said to have traveled down the Paranatinga
to below the Rio Verde and /393/ to have come back again out
of fear of the Kayabí. The Kayabí possessed stone axes and
that had given rise to conflicts.

B More specific information was reported to me about clashes
A in more recent times. The Kayabí killed the father of Felipe;
173 they attacked at night and also took a child along. Antonio's
721 grandfather, father, and uncle pushed forward as far as the mouth
of the Rio Verde. the Kayabí were hunting there and looking
for mussels. The Bakaïrí arrived in the afternoon and cautiously
held back, but early in the morning, when the Kayabí were still

B 648 193 S 169 648 /393 cont./ A great many Suyá were said to have been killed and the tribe fled to the Schingú. Hyacintho, the oldest Indian of the Rio Novo village, was said to have taken part in the battle, along with Antonio's grandfather, so that at the earliest the event would have occurred in the first quarter of our century.

B 648 [175] B 101 In the south and southeast the West Bakaïrí evidently had friendly relations with the Gês tribe of the Kayapó. In the Brazilian sources, which in general underestimate the extent of this tribe, there is nothing /394/ known about the Kayapó having extended into this region. They report only attacks of the "Coroados" on the fazendas of the upper Cüyabá, but the Bakaïrí, who were necessarily better informed, designated this tribe as "kayáχo" = Kayapó, and they also call the source river of the Paranatinga coming farthest from the east the Kayapó River. The same Kayapó are eastern or southeastern neighbors of the Kulisehu Bakaïrí, as the latter informed me.

B 101 Finally, I tried to find out how far the sphere of the West Bakaïrí extends to the west; the Paressí are well known to them as old neighbors. To the west beyond Diamantino, behind the Paressí, live the "Woimaré" and "Eneuré," it was said. They allegedly are not relatives of the Paressí, a statement which is incorrect for the "Woimaré," as we shall see in the discussion of the Paressí. The "Eneuré" are otherwise unknown. Much farther still live the "Pekoban," likewise unknown. The ancestors pushed forward as far as that and said that there was a large river there and that the Pekoban lived beyond it. This could only be the Guaporé, the upper course of the Madeira.

In conclusion, a note about the Guaná is very remarkable; in very, very ancient times they were said to have lived on the Rio Beijaflor, a left tributary of the Paranatinga, which flows into it above the Rio Verde. Cf. page 454.

B 193 167 This is all that I could learn from the West Bakaïrí about the history of the tribe and its relations to its neighbors. To summarize the traditions: the oldest Bakaïrí were settled at the salto of the Paranatinga, thus in any case belonged to the

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The Bacaeris

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/218/ Study published in the Revista Brasileira, Year 1, Vols. III and IV, 1895.

• 101 /219/ The Bacaeris

The Bacaeris /Bacairi/ are Indians who inhabit the headwaters of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/ and the Xingú in Mato Grosso. Their name, which first appears in the logbooks of the bandeirantes /members of armed bands/ of the early eighteenth century, is later found repeatedly in travel accounts, scholarly works, and newspaper items. Since 1884/85 they have attracted the interest of the scientific world, which they fully deserve on account of the language that they speak, the ethnographic group to which they belong, the characteristic customs that they retain, and the dual aspect that they present, already subdued along the Tapajoz, still completely savage along the Xingú.

114 It was Dr. Carlos von den Steinen--assisted by our government, which put at their disposal a military school between Cuyabá /Cuiabá/ and the lower Xingú and defended the expedition between those two points--who, by studying them, opened what may be called without exaggeration a new era for our native ethnography. The results of this expedition may be summarized in a few lines (1).

[113] 1. Durch Zentral Brasilien /Through Central Brazil; see 1:Steinen, this file/, Leipzig, 1886.

114 101 First of all, he delimited the rather vague concept of "Cariba" /Carib/, a designation which, as the German traveler states so well, was given by the Europeans to all kinds of Indians

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101 /219 cont./ and by the Indians to all kinds of Europeans. Since the time of D'Orbigny and Martius there has been a tendency to identify /220/ them with the Tupis. Baptista Caetano, inclined toward the same view, stressed as the principal basis for it the impure character of the idiom spoken by the Caribas, denying Hervas' contention that it was one of the four principal ones of South America.

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197 "In my opinion," he wrote, "Kariba is not and could not be a mother language. According to a study which I undertook (and which I regrettably could not carry further), it looks to me like an extraordinary mixture of several dialects of diverse origins; it is a veritable jargon, amalgamated from various dialects, which sometimes offers several phrases with different radicals and words in order to express the same thing, and sometimes a total lack of designations for other things. It is so confused that it can only be compared to what is heard in certain circles in Rio de Janeiro, where during a conversation in Portuguese one hears at the same time a phrase in English, another in Italian, a bit of Spanish or German, and all this more or less basted with Gallicisms." (Introduction to the second edition of Arte de grammatica da lingua... Kiriri /Nature of the grammar of the language... Kiriri (Cariri)/, by Luiz Vicenzio Mamiani, Rio, 1877, p. XII.)

197 This, which is accurate with regard to the Island Caribas, whom we know through Breton's works (2), does not apply.

[113] 2. Cf. Du parler des hommes et du parler des femmes dans la langue caraïbe /On men's speech and women's speech in the Carib language/, by Lucien Adam, Paris, 1879.

/220 cont./

197 however, to the language of the Bacaeris, which seems pure, nor, for example, to the Cumanagotas /Cumanagoto/ and Chaymas /Chaima/ of Venezuela and Colombia, belonging to the same group, for which there have been printed grammars and texts since 1683.

114 /221/ The second result was the finding of Cariba tribes
• 101 south of the Amazon, when those that were known had been found only north of the great river, such as the Crixanás /Crichana/, Macuxis /Macusi/, and others. Directly afterward, it was proved that these were not the only ones: between the S. Francisco and Parnahiba /Parnaíba/ rivers, Martius recorded a short glossary of the language of the Pimenteiras, who proved to be Caribas; the Palmelas /Palmella/, too, with whom Dr. Severiano da Fonseca dealt on the Guaporé, were Caribas; more Caribas were found later by Dr. von den Steinen himself on one of the tributaries of the Xingú, the Culisewi, and by Dr. Paulo Ehrenreich on the lower Tocantins, where they are called Apiacás.

114 A more detailed knowledge of the purely Cariba languages
194 and the existence of tribes that spoke them south of the
197 Amazon raised the question: might it not have been from south of the Amazon toward the Caribbean Sea that the migrations of these tribes took place--rather than the opposite, as was accepted until then? Almost simultaneously this was answered in the affirmative by Dr. Carlos von den Steinen and by Sr. Lucien Adam, who from 1882 on published various glossaries by Crevaux, among which were some Cariba ones.

114 In order to study the subject better, Dr. Carlos von den Steinen went a second time, in 1888 and, again assisted by our government, explored the Pakunera and Culisewi rivers down to their mouths in the Culuéne, the easternmost of the headwaters of the Xingú.

/222/ Two books resulted from this journey: a monograph on the language of the Bacaeris (3), published in 1892; and the

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I. Historical Data on the Bakairí /Bacairi/

The same title which I have given to the present part of this publication was given by Karl von den Steinen to Chapter 14 of his book, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens /Among the Natives of Central Brazil/ (1) in which he deals at

1. Karl von den Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. Berlin, 1894, pp. 387-395.

length with the history of the Bakairí up to the year of his second expedition, carried out in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River in the year 1887, based on comparative literature and on information received from the Bakairí themselves. There follows from the research of Karl von den Steinen that in the time prior to his first expedition to the Xingu River, very little was known on the Bakairí, although the western part of these Indians, that is to say, the Bakairí who lived on the Rio Paranatinga and the Rio Novo, had lived for a long time in fairly active contact with the Brazilians and came occasionally to the capital, Cuiabá, to sell the rubber they had produced and to ask for some donatives from the government. Martius, too, knows almost nothing about them, and treats them as if they were a Paressi group. (2) It is noteworthy that Martius

2. Martius, Zur Ethnographie Amerikas zumal Brasiliens /Toward an Ethnography of the Americas, especially of Brazil/, Vol. I, 1867, p. 779.

already mentions the existence of Bakairí in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River: "Bacahiri, Bacchyri also live on the southern headwaters of the Xingu River"; (3) but with

3. Ibid., p. 382.

/11 cont./

114 101 133 respect to this piece of information we must keep in mind the fact that in those times the Rio Paranatinga was regarded as a tributary of the Xingu River.

From an objective standpoint I have nothing to add to [121] Karl von den Steinen's full account. I merely propose to complement it in time and to add what we know of the more recent history of the Bakairí since that period when Karl von den Steinen wrote his history of the Bakairí. I feel impelled to carry out this mission, especially in view of the fact that of my two expeditions, in which I had the most extensive contact with the Bakairí, the first took place 26 years before the second, so that I had a good opportunity to observe personally a great part of the change in the living conditions of the Bakairí in the times after Karl von den Steinen's publication. The Bakairí [115] Andrés, who was my faithful companion /12/ on the trip from the Simões Lopes Post to the Pedro Dantas Post, established to civilize the Kayabí /Cayabi/, and on the return to Cuiabá, was the son of a Bakairí, born on the Rio Kulisehu and called Chico, who had been one of my traveling companions to the Rio Kulisehu in the year 1901. I also encountered in the year 1927 many old acquaintances among whom I had lived 26 years before in their village, Maimaieti, on the Rio Kulisehu. They all still remembered well the time we had spent together in the past. During my later stay in Cuiabá, up to the year 1931, the Bakairí boys who went to school in Cuiabá visited my house often, so that it enabled me to keep informed up to that date about all that went on among the Bakairí.

114 648 175 Karl von den Steinen's two expeditions to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River should be noted as an important event not only in the general history of discoveries but also, especially, in the history of the Bakairí. Through them was re-established the long broken connection between the Bakairí living on the Rio Paranatinga and their fellow countrymen on [197] the Batovy and Kulisehu rivers. This fact had such an incisive

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114 648 175 [177] influence on the later development of these Indians, with their very marked feeling of nationality, that they changed their primordial customs completely during the 50 years following Karl von den Steinen's second expedition carried out in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River. Thanks to a series of data on events among the Bakairí in this interval, we find ourselves in the fortunate position of being able to investigate that transformation. We are oriented in detail on the personality and life history of several Bakairí who have influenced in a special way the later development of their tribe, like Cacique Reginaldo and, especially, Cacique Antonio and his stepson José Coroado, so that we can give our historical report on the Bakairí a more personal character than would be possible with respect to other Indian tribes.

114 121

If we differentiate, according to Karl von den Steinen, the Bakairí who live west of the Rio Paranatinga (in later times officially Rio Telles Pires) as western Bakairí and the eastern Bakairí, who have their homes in the regions east of this river, on the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, it can be said that in the period of Karl von den Steinen's first expedition to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River, no contacts took place between these two Bakairí groups, and certainly none had taken place for a long time. Old Cacique Reginaldo told Karl von den Steinen that he still remembered, from the days of his youth, that traveling from the Rio Paranatinga eastward, one would reach a big river on which it was said that Bakairí also lived, but that at the present date they did not know anything about this region. (4) Certainly no contacts had taken

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174 177 619 [13]

4. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien /Through Central Brazil/. Leipzig, 1886. p. 182.

place between the western Bakairí and those of the east from the time when the former established closer contact with the

/12 cont./

174 Brazilians, for otherwise the Bakairí of the Batovy and Kulisehu
177 rivers could not have remained so totally free of /13/ any Euro-
619 pean influence. In my book, Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien
114 (5), I discussed at length the causes of this long isolation of the
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[643]
[113]

5. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien. Erlebnisse und Ethnologische. Ergebnisse einer Reise in den Jahren 1900-1901 /Indian Studies in Central Brazil. Adventure and Ethnology. Results of a Journey in the Years 1900-1901/. Berlin, 1905, p. 320.

eastern Bakairí, and among these causes I especially emphasized the hostility which existed between the Bakairí and their neighbors the Kayabí /Cayabi/, who long made unsafe the region located between the settlements of the western and eastern Bakairí. Contact between these two Bakairí groups was re-established when Karl von den Steinen took along with him on his first expedition to the Xingu River, the Bakairí, Antonio, who later became cacique of the Bakairí, so that he had the opportunity to become acquainted with his fellow countrymen who lived on the Rio Batovy. Already in the year 1886, that is, before Karl von den Steinen's second expedition, the Bakairí, Felipe, who was then cacique of the Paranatinga Bakairí, had on his part visited, along with the above-mentioned Antonio and another Bakairí, his fellow countrymen on the Rio Batovy and had succeeded in getting some of them to make, in turn, a visit to the Rio Paranatinga.

128 In order to make a connection with Karl von den Steinen's
101 historical report, I shall first refer in a few words to the conditions in which this author found the Bakairí at the time of his second expedition in the year 1887. I shall first deal with the

128 /13 cont./ I shall first deal with the
●101 western Bakairí, most of whom lived in two aldeas about two
361 leagues apart, located on the Corrego Sant'Anna, a tributary
361 of the Rio Novo, and the rest on the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires). (6) The Bakairí of the Rio Paranatinga lived at that time

6. Cf. the map drawn by Vogel and published in Karl v.d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit.

in a single aldea, located 17 kilometers downriver from the mouth of the Piava and right in the narrow river valley. (7)

[113]

7. Cf. Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa, Exploração do Rio Parataninga e seu levantamento topographico bem como o dos Rios S. Manoel e Telles Pires /Exploration of the Rio Parataninga and Its Topographic Survey as well as that of the São Manuel and Telles Pires Rivers/, Commissão de Linhas Telegraphicas, etc., Publication No. 34, Appendix No. 2. Rio de Janeiro, 1916, pp. 35 and 61.

Besides these Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga, it was said that there were some of these Indians living on the Rio Preto in the vicinity of Diamantino, the remainder of the inhabitants of a settlement of former times, (8) and a few

8. Karl v.d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., p. 387.

individuals working on one ranch or another in the western region of the headwaters of the Rio Paranatinga.

/29 cont./

114 met one of the Bakairí who had accompanied me in the year
115 1901 on my journey to the Rio Kulisehu. He too was already
[164] very old and he was ill, his body being covered with tumors.

When I reached the Simões Lopes Post I met with highly
114 unfavorable circumstances. My pack oxen were the first to
361 reach Simões Lopes after the long interruption of all traffic between this post and the capital Cuiabá caused by the revolutionaries
[731] led by Prestes. For this reason there was at that time a scarcity of /30/ provisions, and in addition there was among the Indians a bad epidemic of malaria, which the head of the post, Señor Benedito, and his family also had. The post at the time was still at the same location where it was first established, where José Coroado had had his aldea before, and thus 13 kilometers downriver from the old aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí and four kilometers inland on the right side of the river near the small Riberão Azul. It consisted of some administrative buildings (cf. Figure 3) and some 20 ranchos for the Bakairí Indians (cf. Figures 4, 6, and 7). There is no doubt that all the Bakairí lived at this time in areas near the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) and had relations with the Simões Lopes Post, but only part of them lived at the post, and since the plantations of the individual Indian families were rather far from the settlement, the Indians who lived at the post also stayed temporarily in their small houses built near their plantations.

361 In the middle of the post was the house of the Bakairí, Pires,
622 whom the administration had entrusted with the caciqueship over
166 the Bakairí who had moved from the region of the upper Xingu
● 101 River and who were called Xinguanos. (Cf. Figures 4 and 5.)

In one of the houses of the post I met the Bakairí, Luchu,
114 who came from the first aldea on the Rio Kulisehu, who with
115 Cacique Tumayaua had accompanied Karl von den Steinen on his expedition and who is shown in a photograph in the book Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. As shown in the
[179] photograph in Figure 8, he had grown quite old since and was

6:Oberg E-5 (1947)1953 SP7 Bacairi SP 7

[P.69-A]

THE BACAIRI

114 This brief account of the Bacairí is based on
● [101] field work done among the Bacairí living in the
Government Indian Post on the Rio Paranatinga
[121] in June 1947. The field work was carried out
in the course of a reconnaissance survey which
the writer was then making of some of the central
and northern Indian tribes of Mato Grosso.
[122] This and other trips at the time were made in a
Ford truck put at the disposal of the writer by
the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios. By using a
truck the trip to the Paranatinga could be made
over the Planalto do Matogrosense in 2 days in
contrast to the old route along the Rio Cuiabá
which, on horseback with pack oxen, takes from
2 to 3 weeks. The writer was accompanied by
Fernando Altenfelder Silva of the Escola de
Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo and by Rev.
Thomas Young and Rev. W. L. Buckman of the
South American Indian Mission. The Reverend Mr.
[115] Young, who has spent more than 10 years among
the Bacairí, was of great help in selecting inform-
ants and in adding to our knowledge of the
Bacairí.

161 According to estimates made in 1947 by the
36 / Brazilian Indian Service (Serviço de Proteção
aos Indios) there are between 200 and 250 Bacairí
living in the northern part of Mato Grosso State,
Brazil, divided between the Indian Post of Simão
Lopes on the Rio Paranatinga and the village of
173 Rio Novo some distance to the northwest. The
36 / Bacairí claim that the whole tribe originally
167 lived together on the Rio Paranatinga (headwaters
[648] of the Tapajoz River), but attacks by other
Indians and Brazilians forced them to move
about 90 years ago. Owing to a dispute the
tribe split, one group moving north to settle on
the banks of the Rio Kuliseu, a tributary of the
Xingú River, the other moving to Rio Novo.
After about 50 years in the Kuliseu Basin, this
group moved to the present location of Simão
Lopes, not far from the original Bacairí settlement
177 on the Rio Paranatinga. Although the Rio Novo
166 group has adopted Brazilian customs and manages
648 without Government help, some have moved to
Simão Lopes where the Bacairí now live on
reservation lands and receive assistance from the
Brazilian Government.

6:Oberg E-5 (1947)1953 SP7 Bacairi SP 7

THE BACAIRI [P. 69-B]

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101 Brazilian Government. The information presented here was obtained at Simão Lopes from the Bacairí who lived on the Rio Kuliseu and relates to the life that they lived there about 40 years ago.

[192] Linguistically the Bacairí belong to the Carib-speaking family and appear to be closely related culturally to the other Carib-speaking tribes in
142 the Upper Xingú Basin. The Bacairí are short in stature, broad-shouldered and well-built. The head is broad, the nose straight or acquiline, the face narrow, the lips fairly thin. In physical
[144] appearance the Bacairí remind one of the Arawak-speaking Paressí, but contrast sharply with the large-framed, coarse-featured Bororo, Umotina, and Guató living in the headwaters of the Paraguay River to the south.

175 The Bacairí Indians are first mentioned by
131 Gonçalves da Fonseca in his account of his travels to the Madeira region in 1749. In the atlas of Thomas Jeffry, 1776, the "Bacahyris" are located on the Rio Paranatinga. Ayres de Casal, in 1817, refers to the "Baccahyris" as living in the region around the Rio das Mortes. Martins places them
175 in the headwaters of the Xingú. From 1820 on,
177 more or less permanent contact has been maintained with the Bacairí living on the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga. In 1820 a P. Lopez led an expedition in search for gold into the area and
[792] with him came priests who began to convert the Bacairí to Christianity. With these contacts came disease and conflicts (Von den Steinen, 1942, p. 123).

175 The first scientific account of the Bacairí dates
101 from the voyage of Von den Steinen down the
131 Xingú River in 1884. Traveling over land from
361 Cuiabá, he and his party reached the Christianized Bacairí living in the villages of Rio Novo and Paranatinga with whose help he continued his voyage down the Batoví River where he was the first to make contact with the four pagan villages of the Bacairí located between latitudes 13°30′ and 12°30′ S.

175 The following table gives size and number of
162 inhabitants of the villages visited by Von den Steinen (1942, appendix, table 8, p. 418):

SP8 Bororo
Trumai SP23
Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25

The Trumai were met on the west bank of the Kuluseu, between the Anahukua and Mehinaku ports. They had no canoes. We learned that their village was close to the Batovy. It would seem that they also have shifted their village site since Von den Steinen's encounter with them. T 101 361 648 [50]

All of these people live at peace with each other, though of course quarrels arose at times. Their common enemies are, however, the tribes living to the east and west, tribes that roam across the headwaters and depend on hunting rather than fishing for food.

The Bakairi gave the following list of tribes that are supposed to live in the forests east of the Kuluene: Kayahó (Kayapó); Kaviji; Turi; Maritsava; Phoi, who are pygmies, a little over a metre high; Penehoko, who are a very large people; Tsuyakadi, who also are very large; Yaruma; Suya; Tsuruna; and, on the Paranatinga, the Tonali, who are also known as Kayabi, Kajabi; Apiakala (Apiaka) and the Pana, who are a very tall people. B 101 829

The Kalapalu gave the names of the following tribes who are supposed to live to the east of the Kuluene and with whom they are permanently in a state of war: lower part of Kuluene, the Siuya (Suya) and Tsuruna (Juruna); directly to the east of their village, the Ahinkotl, Turi, Juruna, Tumbilyaka, Kayapo (big feet) Alitsowa, Aiiva, Yahã, Ravine, Aruga (hide away to kill people), Yarpitsu (kill people), Tahulgi (pygmies). [See map, Plate XXV.] Y 101 829 648

Our attempt to meet some of these tribes that are supposed to have their villages close to the banks of the Seventh of September river was not successful. In view of the above linguistic grouping of the tribes, it is interesting to note their attitude toward each other. The Bakairi, who are Caribs, distrust and fear the Anahukua, who are of the same linguistic stock, affirming to me again and again that they are a bad people. They were relieved when we left their neighborhood. On the other hand they praised the Mehinaku, and were not even afraid to leave their goods about. The Mehinaku are Arawaks. My canoemen were also at ease with the Aura and the Yawalapiti, and seemed to expect nothing from the Trumai, whom they considered an inferior and poor people. The Auiti were watched with suspicion, but the Kamayula were actually feared, as well as the Tsuva, Kuikutl and Kalapalu, the first being Tupi and the last three Caribs; but the Paravute were praised for their honesty and peaceful disposition, and seemed to recognize in the Bakairi. Y B 648